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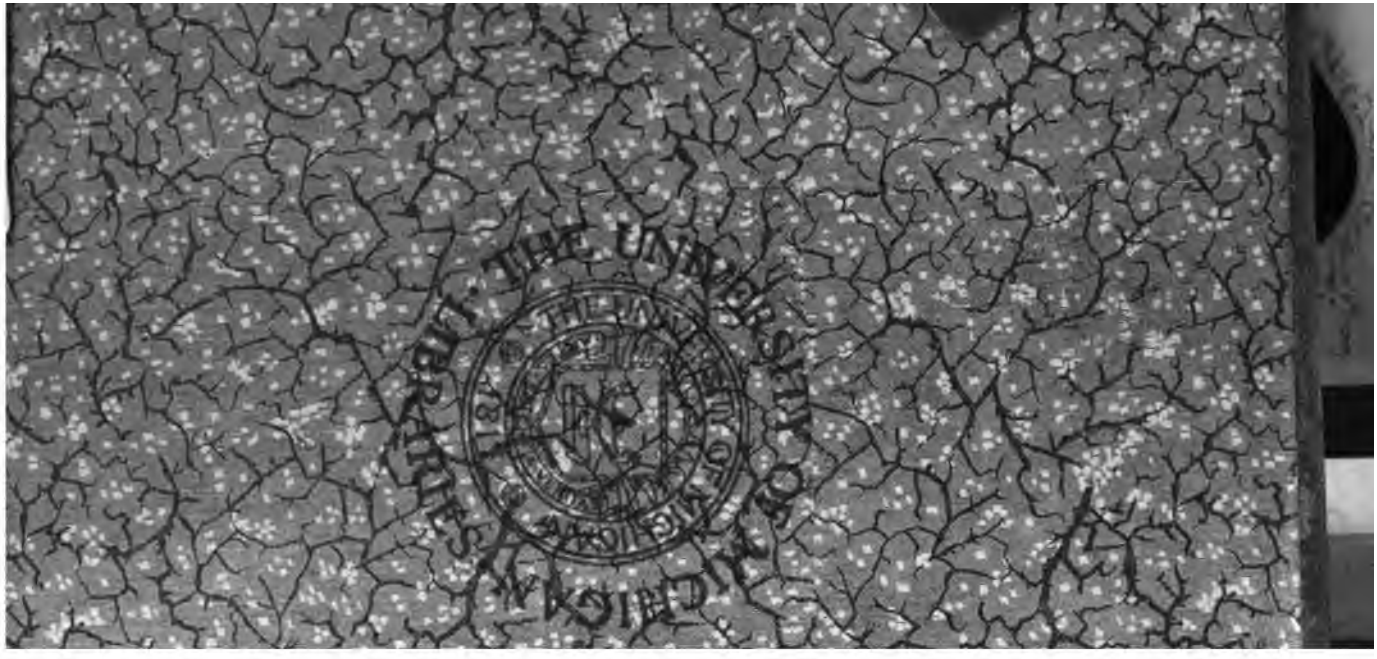
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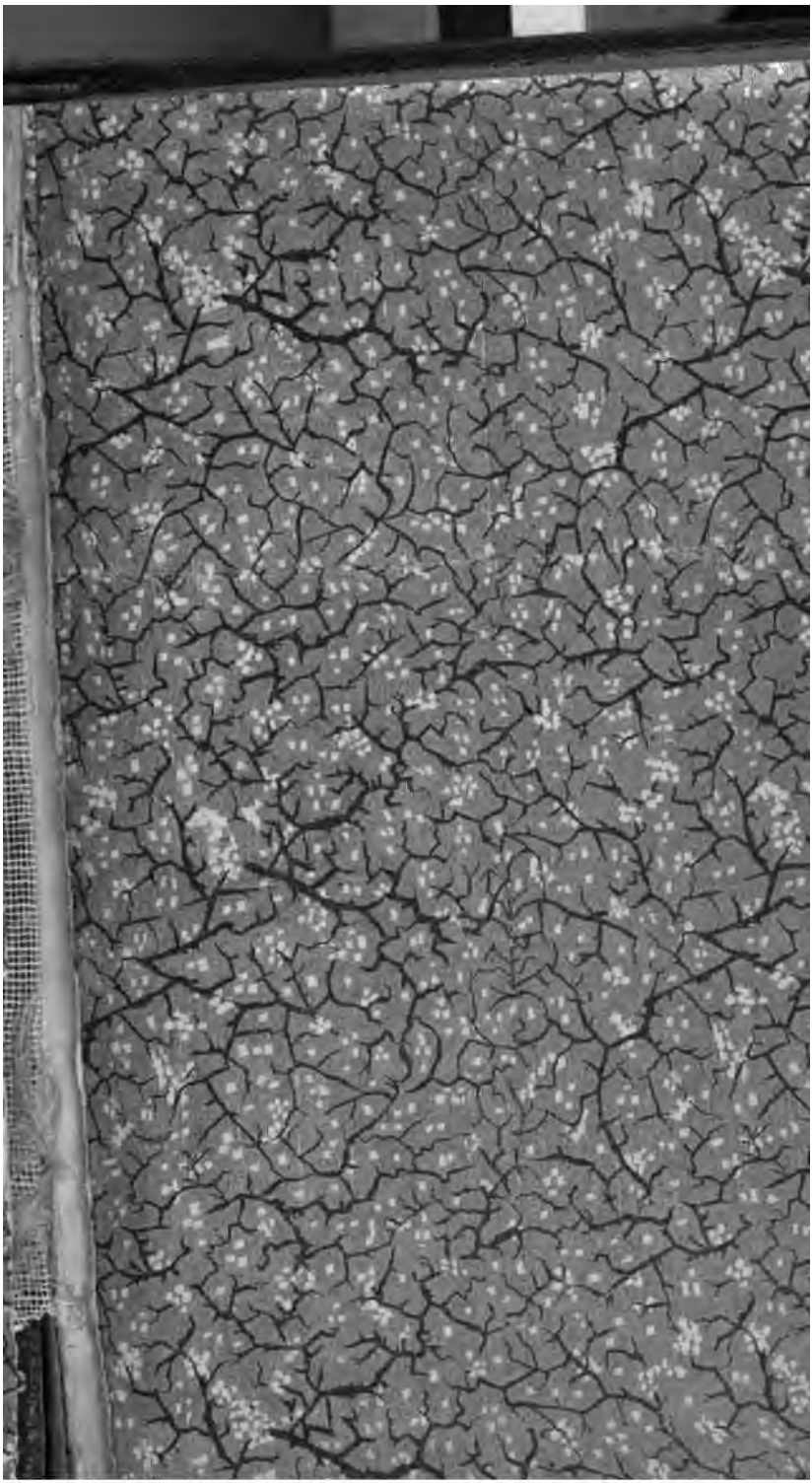
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Fraternally Yours.
Austin Willey

THE HISTORY OF THE ANTISLAVERY CAUSE IN STATE AND NATION

BY

REV. AUSTIN WILLEY

Editor of Antislavery Paper during the Conflict

PORTLAND, MAINE

BROWN THURSTON

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1886

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STACKS
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ADDITION

DEDICATION.

TO THE
NEW GENERATIONS OF
AMERICAN CITIZENS, OF WHATEVER RACE OR COLOR,
WHO CAN
KNOW THE EVENTS HERE NARRATED ONLY AS HISTORY,
BUT WHO MUST MAKE
THE EVENTS AND THE HISTORY OF THE FUTURE,
THIS VOLUME IS HOPEFULLY
DEDICATED.

AUTHOR.

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PUBLISHERS' NOTICE.

In putting the "History of Antislavery — State and Nation" before the people we feel that we are doing a public service. If heroic action in a good cause is worthy of esteem and calculated to elevate and ennoble mankind, it is certainly a meritorious work to give the history of those times which enlisted the men who bore the burden and reproach of that greatest revolution of the nineteenth century.

It is the most complete and perspicuous history of the cause ever written, or that ever can be written, and all so terse and condensed as to be practicable for all the people. The whole thirty years, with their mighty events, are made vivid on these pages, and are just what the people of the whole country need for all time.

In view of work done, and the extreme hostility and reproach which was poured upon the author, Rev. Austin Willey, at the time, several of those friends who knew him best claim it as an act of simple justice to record their testimony which we give here.

From Rev. C. C. Cone.

BOWDOINHAM, MAINE, Dec., 1885.

BROWN THURSTON, ESQ.,

Dear Sir: Fifty years ago, slavery had the entire control of the nation, the church, the press, the general public sentiment, and the conscience of the people. To question the divinity of slavery was to subject one to the charge of infidelity, and as being in opposition to the welfare of the church and state, and the progress of civilization. "Darkness, gross darkness, covered the people," and the cries,

groans, and bitter tears of more than three millions of slaves were going up to Heaven unheeded by both church and state; and yet there was a remnant left who would not bow the knee to Baal. These were men and women who believed the Bible, and who gave full credence to its unqualified condemnation of slavery in all its forms.

Pre-eminent among the few who occupied this position of uncompromising hostility to slavery, was Rev. Austin Willey, the author of the History of the Antislavery Conflict in Maine and Nation. Mr. Willey is a native of New Hampshire, of Puritan stock, and wields a powerful pen in defence of truth and righteousness as connected with the cause of temperance in the country. On graduating from Bangor Seminary he was called by the friends of the slave in Maine to assume the editorship of the antislavery paper, which had then been in existence about a year, under the supervision of the late and greatly lamented Professor William Smyth, of Bowdoin College. On commencing his labors, he adopted as his motto, "*Immediate Abolition of Slavery is the duty of the Master and the right of the Slave.*" On this platform he labored for the space of sixteen years with signal ability, and with a persistent, unconquerable zeal worthy of all praise, until the victory was gained, and the principles and labors of the friends of the slave culminated in the organization of a new political party that absorbed all the antislavery element in both the old political parties. The victory was complete. Maine was morally, religiously, and politically revolutionized, and lifted up from abject bondage to slavery to a noble Christian civilization, by the force alone of God's truth upon the minds and hearts of the people. This was done as in no other state. The conflict was desperate with both religious and political forces, and was prosecuted with inadequate means, but with uncompromising persistence and faith in God. And not this alone, but Maine marched in the front line with other states, and at last that pagan despotism was annihilated, and our country was saved from ruin. During this long-continued and bitter contest, Mr. Willey, by reason of the position he occupied as editor of the chief paper in the state that dared to speak in defence of the slave, denouncing slavery and all complicity with it on the platform as well as in the press, became the target at which were aimed the deadliest missiles of pro-slavery ingenuity and wrath. Amid it all he stood erect and firm, and without fear, in defence of the cause of God and humanity, manifesting always the distinguishing characteristics of a Christian gentleman. As an editor, he was one of the ablest in the antislavery field, enjoying the confidence and esteem of such men as Salmon P.

Chase, Joshua Leavitt, Lewis Tappan, Charles Sumner, and other able leaders in the antislavery cause. As a public speaker, Mr. Willey was far above mediocrity. He met the people as one of them, and came before his audience with plain words addressed to the hearts and consciences of men, and presented them so clearly and forcibly that the common people could understand them and feel their force. In this way his hearers and readers were instructed and convinced of their duty. No one complained of his bold Saxon bluntness and plain dealing but the enemies of truth and the half-hearted and timid.

No one was ever known to doubt the honesty and integrity of Austin Willey and his ability to wield the truth with terrible effect against the "sum of all villainies," and it is but justice to say that few men, living or dead, did more for the correction of public opinion, for the elevation of the people to the standard of a noble Christian civilization, and to a proper estimation of the value of liberty; and no man has a stronger claim on the people of Maine and the country for gratitude and good will, than has Mr. Willey. There is cause for devout gratitude to the Author of all good for the preservation of the only man living who has a personal knowledge of the facts, and the material and the ability to furnish for future generations a correct though condensed history of the most important and remarkable revolution of modern times.

I therefore heartily commend his book to the confidence of the public as one worthy to be transmitted to future generations.

From Rev. J. T. Hawes, Litchfield, Maine.

I indorse every word of Brother Cone's letter.

From Hon. John J. Perry.

PORTLAND, MAINE, Oct. 5th, 1885.

BROWN THURSTON, ESQ.,

My Dear Sir: In looking over the copy of the "History of Anti-slavery — State and Nation," by Rev. Austin Willey, I am forcibly reminded of the time when the word "abolitionist" was a term of reproach, when the leaders of both Whig and Democratic parties joined in the cry "Down with the abolitionists!" when the Anti-slavery advocates were abused, persecuted, insulted, and socially ostracized.

Among the patriotic, noble men who, over thirty years ago, stood in the front ranks of the "Liberty Party" of Maine was Rev. Austin Willey, then the publisher and editor of the *Liberty Standard*. He

was a bold, fearless, conscientious man, who was always found in the thickest of the fight, and who never was known to lower the old flag of freedom a single inch.

I was in the Democratic party, but a regular reader of Mr. Willey's paper several years before I had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance. The political campaign of 1854 brought us together. Old party lines then commenced breaking up; there had been the year before a large secession from the Democratic party in Maine; the Whig party became demoralized as a party by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; the Antislavery sentiment, although comparatively in a chaotic state, was drifting away from the two old dominant parties, and forming a new line on the issue of slavery. In this grand political movement which resulted in the formation of the Republican party, the old Liberty or Free Soil party became a sort of nucleus. In this party were the old scarred veterans, who had been in the fight on this line for years, and the readiness with which they proposed to give their principles a practical test gave them great favor in the eyes of the independents from the two old parties. It was at this point that Austin Willey, as one of the Free Soil leaders, held the front in the thickest of the fight, and amid the fire and smoke of battle, gallantly maintained his position until victory perched upon the banners of the allied forces.

Mr. Willey was a *true* man in the best sense of that term; he was true to his convictions of duty, true to his principles, and true to his friends. An attempt of a disaffected leader in the campaign of 1854 to lead the Free Soil forces into the proslavery Democratic camp was defeated, more by the bold, determined vigor of Mr. Willey than by any other agency.

In bringing together the elements which made up the Republican party and in making it a compact, working, political organization, Mr. Willey exerted a potent influence.

To but few men does freedom owe a greater debt of gratitude than to Austin Willey. His invaluable book will be read with intense interest by the students of history, and must have an extensive sale. Beside its comprehensive national history, it makes a complete record of an important revolution in the political history of Maine which would have otherwise remained a blank.

From Hon. Anson P. Morrill.

I read the paper of which Mr. Willey was editor, and thought him to be a good writer, — able, sharp, caustic. I have read the advance sheets you kindly sent me, and judge the writer retains his old-time

vigor and force of statement. I am well impressed with the chapters before me, and believe he will make a good work of it.

From Charles A. Stackpole.

I am glad that Brother Willey has undertaken the work, for there is no one better fitted for it.

From Rev. S. H. Willey, of the "Pacific."

It reads like a romance. It brings to mind things long since forgotten, — things that ought not to be forgotten. And then, to think that we ourselves have lived to hear the "New South" say to us from under their defeat, "Your victory was our victory," that is a wonder! Henceforth we may say "Nothing is impossible to God."

From Hon. W. E. Chandler, of N. H.

I was very much interested in the few pages of Mr. Willey's Antislavery History which I was enabled to read. The original abolitionists and free soilers are entitled to all honor. Most of them have passed away. May he be spared yet awhile.

From Prof. William W. Payne.

CARLETON COLLEGE, NORTHFIELD, Dec. 14, 1885.

In reading the advance sheets of Antislavery History by Rev. Austin Willey, I have been greatly impressed with its wide range of fact, its clear statement of principle, its loyalty to truth and righteousness, its fearless advocacy of right at all times, and the wise use of the materials gathered from long years of activity in the Antislavery cause in the United States.

From Prof. George Huntington.

NORTHFIELD, MINN., Dec. 14, 1885.

Having read the advance sheets of a considerable portion of Mr. Willey's book, I am impressed with its great value as a contribution to the history of Slavery and Antislavery by one who can speak as few living men can, from extensive observation of and personal participation in the events which he records.

From Hon. Samuel D. Hastings.

MADISON, WIS., Dec. 19, 1885.

I have read a portion of Mr. Willey's Antislavery History with great interest. I was so interested in what I read that I am impatient for the book to come, as now ordered, that I may read it all. I should think that every old antislavery man now living would desire a copy of the work.

From Rev. E. P. Parker, D. D.

HARTFORD, CONN., Dec. 21, 1885.

From what I know of Mr. Willey personally, and of his familiarity with the great antislavery conflict, and of his forthcoming book by an examination of proof-sheets, I am quite ready and glad to commend the work. He has abundant knowledge of the things whereof he treats, and possesses the ability to treat them in a satisfactory manner. I hope it will prove to be a deserved success.

From Hon. Senator H. W. Blair.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 22, 1885.

Gentlemen: I have carefully examined the advance sheets of Rev. Austin Willey's forthcoming history of the antislavery struggle, in Maine and Nation.

I was born in the same town, Campton, New Hampshire, where Mr. Willey was born, and, although many years younger than he, I can well remember his zeal and prominence in the antislavery cause, and the great ability he displayed in its support, from the early days of "abolition" until its culmination in the war.

No man lives, or has lived, better qualified to write its history from personal knowledge of the motives and actions of the leaders in that great movement among whom he was one of the most efficient, while his honesty, fidelity, and impartiality will give to his statements absolute reliability. The book will possess great and permanent value, and must command a wide circulation.

From Hon. W. S. Pattee, Northfield, Minn.

The advance sheets of "the History of Antislavery in State and Nation," by Rev. Austin Willey, fully meet the highest expectations of all who have intimately known the strong and logical mind of the author, and his uncompromising attitude toward all forms of iniquity; his fearless arraignment of wrong in high places; and his untiring efforts in behalf of every cause devoted to the uplifting and ennobling of human society.

His work is highly valuable for both the lessons it teaches and those it suggests.

From Hon. H. W. Page, Carleton College, Minn.

Have been greatly interested in this. The style is terse, vigorous, and remarkably condensed. I shall want to see the whole book.



From Rev. Joseph E. Roy, District Sec. Am. Miss. Association.

CHICAGO, Jan. 19, 1886.

Mr. Willey has undertaken a work, of which he can say, "*Quorum magna pars fui*," and so he has a right to speak. It was a labor of love waiting to be done, and he has done it in a way worthy of the cause which stands at the head of the reforms of the century. Mr. Willey seems to have had the historic and the judicial sense that were requisite to a just and permanent setting of this strangest chapter in our nation's history.

The book contains over five hundred pages, with nineteen portraits of prominent men in Maine and elsewhere, who were active in the great conflict; bound in cloth, and will be mailed to any one on receipt of two dollars.

Address,

BROWN THURSTON,

PORTLAND, MAINE.



PREFACE.

THIS work was undertaken from a conviction of duty to make such a contribution as we might to the history of the great Antislavery Reform of the last generation, now so imperfectly written, and thus aid in giving its priceless lessons to mankind, in protecting the cause from perversion in history, in honoring the memory of its noble men and women, whose self-sacrificing heroism carried it to power, and in giving to God the glory of the victory. When in the future the disparagement with which the cause was loaded has passed away, it will be seen as the supreme era in American history, and the endeavor now has been to furnish a true, intelligent sketch of the great revolution in all its departments, in states and nation, religious and civil, from origin to consummation, for thirty years, thus supplying the common demands of memory in history. For this a trace of its home-life among the people, the fountain-head of all solid reform, is not less valuable than its life at Washington. This will be found in Maine.

For broader and richer intelligence the work goes back centuries to the origin of the African slave-trade, sketches its horrible progress, its legal abolition by the British government, and the abolition of slavery under it and in other

countries. Slavery is then followed to this continent, and traced down to the Revolution, and to the Abolition Era. Then opens the great conflict; its principles, objects, measures, and true spirit, all carefully outlined till slavery fell.

The origin, arguments, principles, and early history of the new political organization, the Liberty Party, are but very imperfectly given in any other history, nor is the religious history of the cause adequately recorded. All this has been carefully sketched here as far as space would permit. Although at great cost of labor, no effort has been spared to select and condense into this space the utmost intelligence from the real life of the great upheaval for the restoration of three millions from "properiy" to humanity, and the redemption of our dying country, and give it to history. That period is without a parallel as the one in which the great Emancipator came in His providence and abolished slavery nearly throughout the earth. What history can exceed it in value?

A brief history of the cause in Maine was a prominent design of this work. While to be intelligent, this must be accompanied by a sketch of the general cause of which it was a part, it would better exhibit the reform locally and with the people than general history could do. This is encouraged by the frequent remark at the time elsewhere, that the cause was better conducted there than in other states. Did not results favor that view? Here could be found the share of the humblest man or woman in the sublime results;

the toil and sacrifice, the "no reputation," the persecution, the courage and fidelity on which the result depended. Here could be recorded a roll of names the memory of which will ever be precious, and their example an inspiration to noble endeavors. Maine was second to no other state in that mighty contest for Liberty, although but slightly mentioned in other history.

The two reforms of temperance and freedom were carried on jointly, and a true history of the Maine law,—how it was obtained, saved, executed, and made of great benefit to the state and the world,— is here given. In view of the prevalent mistakes on that subject it is hoped this may be of service to that and other reforms.

All things weighed and errors conceded, a better example of fundamental, national reform against prodigious resisting forces, and following more nearly the models and commands of the Bible against gigantic sin than the Antislavery cause presents, cannot be found in history, however it has been defamed.

The terrible lessons of this era for church, state, and citizen, should have a place in every pulpit, every press, and every family in the land; in every Fourth of July celebration and Memorial Day, warning of the appalling consequences of tolerating wrong and of treachery to right. If these lessons are disregarded, as indicated hitherto, Omnipotent Justice will repeat them with an emphasis not to be disregarded.

Good likenesses of the agents in history greatly aid the memory in distinct and permanent impressions, and a liberal number is given to the readers of this history. The variety represents the fraternal unity by which the great results were achieved. Would that the number were far greater.

AUSTIN WILLEY.

CHAPTER I.

THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE. THE SIX QUAKERS. ITS ABOLITION. WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION. ELIZABETH HEYRICK. LESSONS OF HISTORY. SLAVERY IN THE COLONIES. "IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN."

FOR two hundred years the African slave-trade was carried on by the most Christian nations, Catholics and Protestants alike, and protected by their governments. Avarice at the price of robbery and blood inspired all alike in the most inhuman, guilty business ever practiced on earth. In 1783 there was a trial in London for throwing into the sea one hundred and thirty-two Africans by the master of a slave-ship to defraud the underwriters, but with no penalty because they were negroes! (Jay.) In 1786 it was estimated that one hundred thousand were annually captured and torn from Africa; and it was admitted that at least twenty thousand perished on the voyage, and twenty thousand more, crushed by cruelty and despair, died in two years.

But no signs of sensibility were perceptible till 1776, when a member of the English House of Commons moved that "the slave-trade was contrary to the laws of God and the rights of man"; but it was at once rejected. Perhaps the discussion between Great Britain and the American Colonies respecting human rights had started this thought. Lord North said "the traffic had become a commercial necessity to

nearly every nation in Europe." Seven years later a petition by a few Quakers was not even considered.

In 1783 occurred an example which should be as immortal as the "two mites." Six Quakers met in London "to consider what steps they should take for the liberation and relief of negro slaves in the West Indies, and for the discouragement of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa." Never was there seen a sublimer faith and Christian fidelity than this example of those six obscure, despised Quakers affords. It was indeed a faith to "remove mountains,"— Alps or Andes. The whole world was solid against them, church and state alike; but what was that with the Bible and Omnipotence behind them? They organized into a society, purchased the right of speech in some papers, circulated books and pamphlets, and scattered the seed of truth; and God and truth are one. In two years a second petition to Parliament met the fate of the first. But the society of the six, undaunted, added a few to their number, and engaged Mr. Clarkson as agent, whose powerful appeals began to stir British sensibilities. To relieve their cause of sectarian reproach they added six other names of different denominations, and soon became a power. Parliament in 1788 agreed to consider the subject at the next session.

But the iron-clad opposition now saw that they must come to trial, and, aroused and vindictive, they attacked the advocates of humanity and justice as "fanatics," "hypocrites," etc., defended their horrid barbarism through the press, aided even by ministers of religion on alleged authority of the Bible! In 1791,

a bill was introduced to abolish the trade, but was denounced as "fit only for the bigotry of the twelfth century." Lord John Russell called it "visionary and delusive, as other nations would continue the trade." An old subterfuge of "following the multitude to do evil." But the conflict went on. Wilberforce, one of the "fanatics," moved the passage of the bill ten times without success. But victory was coming, and after twenty-four years from the formation of the Quaker Committee, March 24th, 1807, the bill was passed by Parliament. But with what humiliation should a large portion of "civilized" society and of the Christian church now view the identity of their position, practically, respecting crimes of equal enormity with that of the slave-trade!

Negotiations and treaties began at once with other nations and were carried on till 1830, when every Christian nation in Europe and America had prohibited by law that pagan traffic in human flesh. That humble Quaker Committee of six, in less than half a century had reformed the world! So human pride must fall, "for God has chosen the weak things of the world to confound the mighty."

But the committee of six, in 1783, had demanded "the liberation of negro slaves in the British West Indies," and the same principles required both. The conflict and struggle for this went on until the 1st of August, 1838, when slavery there totally went down with every legal disability founded on color, and eight hundred twelve thousand and seven hundred were transformed from brutality to humanity. "He came to proclaim liberty to the captives."

We can but dwell a little on these generations of English history for the rich lessons they afford for all time. Mr. C. Stuart, an able man at the center of the reform, shows how the abolition of the trade had been so long retarded by "inadequate measures," "absurd schemes," "fractional theories," "peculiar difficulties just now," "by and bys," "amelioration," "gradualism," "mitigation of its horrors the shortest way," "regulate," and other dabbling inventions. Trivial plans were introduced into Parliament "as though cutting off a branch would extirpate the root." Abolishing the monstrous crime, it was said, "would ruin the nation," and immediate abolition was loaded with reproach. But the voice of woe could not be silenced, and at last the horrible trade was brought to decisive issue and prohibited, though not wholly stopped. Was the law therefore wrong?

When Mr. Stuart states the fallacious mistake, by the friends of liberty, of relying on assumed "tendencies" to uproot gigantic wrong, and so escape a conflict, he says: "The friends of humanity pleased themselves with the delightful idea that their work was accomplished, — that the trade being abolished, slavery would be immediately mitigated, and the result at no distant day be its entire abolition. Such was the easy British dream for several years." But the African slave-trade was not abolished, nor the intercolonial trade. Though contraband it was carried on by English as well as other nations. And instead of slavery being "mitigated," the slave-holders were more defiant and cruel than ever.

But mawkish gradualism was still clung to.

Minister Canning got a resolution adopted by Parliament in favor of "temperate amelioration" of slavery, but was mortified by soon finding it a farce and jeered at by the slave-holders. And Mr. Stuart explains the mistake which produced this trifling with crime. Society, he says, "was moved more by *humanity* than *religion;* it looked at *suffering* rather than *crime;* to *sorrow* rather than *sin.* It could thus parley with slavery as not called on of God to aim directly at its total extinction. The London Anti-slavery Society rose, but it rose with half a heart — the enemy of *suffering* rather than of *sin,* — seeking to relieve the lamb while it left him in the lion's paw; to stop the fountain by striking at some of its streams."

But in the midst of this deluded tampering with moral wrong, by worthless "expediences," appeared another Deborah, Elizabeth Heyrick, of Leicester, in 1826. She wrote a powerful pamphlet in favor of "Immediate Emancipation," with all the force of everlasting truth, leaving the half-witted wisdom of the age behind her. "She showed the inadequacy of gradual emancipation, the loss of eternal principles it involves, the dreadful effects produced, and the safety of doing right. The sun of eternal truth had risen on her mind, and though she was denounced as ultra and half crazy, her principles worked mightily." Still the cowardly policy of dickering with sin and crime prevailed against the positive law of God. The government said it aimed at the extinction of slavery in the West Indies, but by "slow degrees, so as to qualify the slaves for freedom and have it decay gently,

slowly, and die away. They had not cast off the fear of God, but yielded to the fear of man; they did not love tyranny, but did not look to God sufficiently to take it by the horns."

All this time the merciless despotism was becoming still more relentless. But just now a new cry of "Lo here!" is heard from the pious and popular class. It was, "Take care of the *souls* of the slaves. What are bodies to souls?" This pious dodge ran smoothly, but not long. Another invention to switch off the main issue was to liberate all children born after a certain date. But the worthlessness of all these schemes had become so obvious as to begin to open blind eyes, and turn them to the standard of *Right as the only expediency*, maintained for years by the "crazy" Elizabeth Heyrick and her fanatical supporters. And in 1830 the whole movement took a new departure to power. The London society discarded all gradualism, and went earnestly to work for the immediate extinction of slavery. Powerful men were brought into the field, fearless for the right; "the nation began to arouse like a lion from his slumbers," and the slave party to desperate fury, for they saw that the decisive hour had come. And the speedy victory was echoed in more worlds than this.

No lesson more important to a suffering world remains to be learned than is here taught. While subjects given to human judgment are to be subject to its decision, wherever moral law — God's law — extends its "exceeding broad" jurisdiction, there all substitution of human opinions for that law is war on the Almighty. He has but one command respect-

ing sin, crime, moral wrong,—"Repent," "Cease," "Turn," instantly! or justice awaits the rebel. And our religion maintains this position in its application to individuals as such, but there stops. On all social, public questions of duty, especially civil, moral law is scouted, and human presumption takes jurisdiction. There essentially stands the current Christianity and civilization of the world, still "a vale of tears." Only is a great woe lifted when, after ages or centuries of persecuting conflict, that woe is arraigned before the omnipotent law of Right, of God. Then it falls. This will be further seen in the following history. Our own country has persistently treated the appalling liquor crime for half a century as England did slavery, and with the same results, only when the disciples were "*casting out devils*," not compromising with them, were they seen "falling like lightning from heaven," pretty fast! Oh! when will the Christian Church "the light of the world," with oath bound fidelity, stand by the flag of "the King of kings," demanding the *immediate, unconditional surrender* of "whatsoever exalts itself against God"? When will a religion prevail which will not desert to "the least of two evils," the smallest devil, "do evil that good may come," then pray, "Thy kingdom come"? Has that morning dawned?

In 1503, soon after the discovery of America, the Portuguese began to procure negroes from Africa to supply the Spaniards with labor to cultivate their new possessions in America. Afterward other nations as they acquired possessions followed the example of the Spaniards, and slavery took deep root in most Ameri-

can colonies. The victims were taken from a rich, beautiful, generally peaceful country, where Mohammedanism protected them from intoxicating liquor. They were seized by every possible artifice of fraud, deception, violence, night-hunting, quarreling, burning towns to grab the fleeing inhabitants, making war to capture the prisoners, men, women, and children. About the year 1724, Christian England stole and shipped to her equally Christian American colonies one hundred thousand slaves every year, of whom not far from forty thousand died on the passage, or within two years by "seasoning." "O earth! O sea! cover not thou their blood!" (Anderson's Hist.) But the excuse was — the necessities of trade, wealth, and national glory; like the liquor traffic, to build up towns and pay taxes.

Watching for every new market for human flesh, an English ship carried slaves to Virginia at the same time the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth. As other ports and colonies opened, cargoes of agony and despair were in their harbors — the supply equal to the demand. And when the colonies had shipping of their own they entered into the foreign and domestic trade with zeal; and it was estimated that in 1774, Virginia alone exported to southern and western markets ten thousand human "chattels" annually. At the time of the Revolution there were about six hundred and seventy-five thousand slaves in the United States, chiefly in the south, but scattered over nearly all the states. The system was weak, the best conviction of the country, north and south, was against it; and had it not been for the old

inherited delusion of gradualism against sin and crime, had the Church voiced the commands of God and the Bible to "let the oppressed go free," and pressed it with persistent energy upon the people when they had, after the war, the legal power, it would have fallen!

On the 30th of October, 1774, a Congress from twelve colonies met in Philadelphia for relief against British oppression, and passed unanimously the following declaration, solemnly binding themselves and their constituents: "We will neither import nor purchase any slave imported after the first day of December next, after which time we will wholly discontinue the slave-trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it."

Agreeably to this vow the colonies all closed their ports against the foreign slave-trade and abolished it before the date of the Constitution. Antislavery societies were formed in southern colonies; the sword of truth which Wesley had wielded with such power against slavery was still felt; the Quakers continued to testify, and thousands of slaves were emancipated in Virginia alone. And all know the sublime ascendency and inspiration of liberty and equal rights of all men which pervaded the land, led on by Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, and a host of others, and soon taking immortal form in the Declaration of Independence, without a dissenting voice! God the Creator had given "inalienable, equal rights to all men," and now a nation comes forth to receive these rights at His hands, and protect and defend them

forever, "so help me, God!" Never on earth had a nation such a sublime, holy origin, and baptized to Liberty at its first breath.

Can slavery breathe the atmosphere of such a country and live? The hope and belief that slavery was dying and would ultimately disappear, was extensive north and south; and had the religion of the country seized the occasion and demanded *immediate emancipation*, with the Bible in its right hand, supported as it would have been by the moral force and best statesmanship of the nation, and by pledged Omnipotence, slavery would have fallen, and who can measure the benefits to mankind! True, the northern states, in accordance with their national vows, abolished their own slavery: Vermont by her constitution in 1777; Pennsylvania and Massachusetts in 1780; Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire in 1784; New York in 1799; and New Jersey in 1804. The general government undertook to stop the extension of slavery by the Ordinance of 1787, prohibiting it in its whole northwest territory. The great wave of slavery-extinction was not limited to this country and Great Britain, but swept slavery away in Prussia in 1776; in the French West Indies in 1794 — restoring to humanity six hundred thousand: and soon slavery was abolished in most countries of Europe, South America, and in Mexico when it became independent of Spain. "O that thou hadst known in this thy day!"

CHAPTER II.

THE REVOLUTION. ITS PRINCIPLES COMPROMISED. THE CONSTITUTION. SLAVERY ARMED. THE NATION SUBJUGATED. MISSOURI CONFLICT. THE DECLINE OF LIBERTY. AGGRESSIONS OF SLAVERY. CASTE OF COLOR. WHAT SLAVERY WAS. LIBERTY NOT DEAD. BENJAMIN LUNDY.

THE war for independent nationality had been fought with Great Britain and victory won; the bottom issue being man's inalienable, equal rights from the Creator; that is, rights beyond civil control, and which government can only protect. Great Britain had violated these rights, hence our rebellion. And a government had been established avowedly for the security of these rights, and it was fondly hoped that the remaining slavery in the country would gradually disappear. But these hopes were disappointed. As in England, it had not been arraigned, guilty as it was, on an uncompromising life or death issue, and public opinion trained to immediate emancipation. Here was its weakness, and the slave states never adopted the principles of liberty on which the nation stood. The old Declaration found no Fourth of July cheers there. Slavery was always held there above the Union, and its ruin threatened from first to last if slavery was interfered with. This intimidation forced into the Constitution a toleration of the African slave-trade until 1808, against the pledge of 1774, and which the South had legally abolished; permitted the

recovery of fugitive slaves, and more monstrous still, increased the southern vote by *three-fifths* of the slaves, making "goods and chattels" voters! This enormity raised slavery to power, which controlled the government until the necessities of civil war dethroned it.

These guilty provisions in the Constitution, were a terrible blow to the spirit of liberty in the country, although powers enough remained to destroy slavery if firmly executed. But soon a force arose exceeding all others, which the slave-power seized and by it held the country in abject servility for half a century. By nearly universal consent it was beyond the reach of the laws of God, and neither religion nor humanity had anything to do with it. That power was partisan *politics*. Under its training individual accountability — the basis of republican government, — was lost in the organism, and that became a "machine" in the hands of slave-holders and servile office-seekers. Yet opposition to slavery did not wholly become extinct. Conflicts would arise respecting its extension to new territories and states, but only to end in the defeat of liberty.

The first severe struggle was on the admission of Missouri as a slave state about 1820. The whole country was agitated, and the debates in Congress were fierce and long. Maine was asking for admission at the same time, so they were yoked together to pull each other in, one a free, the other a slave state. At last a compromise was effected, by which Missouri was admitted with slavery, which was, that slavery should never extend north of thirty-six degrees

and thirty minutes. This was essentially a victory for slavery, and even that limitation was afterward swept away by it.

The country now sunk into a more obdurate, servile condition, and nothing demanded by this American despotism was too atrocious to be done. Some Indians and fugitive slaves were found to be in a Fort on the Appalachicola river in Florida while it belonged to Spain, and a naval vessel was sent up the river to blow up the Fort with hot shot. This was done and three hundred perished. The Seminole war, costing the country forty million dollars, had the single object to break up the refuge of a few fugitive slaves. The noble chief would not surrender his mother on an old claim of her having been a fugitive. Earnest efforts were made to prevent emancipation in the British West Indies because of its influence on slavery in the states. Indian tribes were warred on, driven from their homes or exterminated by a barbarism more savage than their own, for the benefit of slavery. Government was what the majority party was, and the party was what slave-holders made it.

It was a dark day. Liberty wept in the land sworn to her protection. William Pinckney had warned the country thirty years before, that "If slavery continues fifty years longer the effects will be seen in the decline of liberty in the free states." Votes from New England carried the Missouri contest for slavery, and no one in Congress was more zealous in this than John Holmes of Maine, then a part of Massachusetts. He doubtless saw that it was the only way to secure the admission of Maine.

And this corruption pervaded society, religious and irreligious. The caste of color was as intense and heathen as ever existed in Burmah. Seats in churches were torn up to prevent colored families from occupying them. At a communion service in the First Congregational church in Bangor, when omissions were called, I saw a colored woman modestly rise away in the most distant corner of the house, and the deacon went and waited on her. In New Haven, Conn., an attempt was made to establish a Manual Labor School for colored people, as they were excluded from all others; but the government and leading men of the city raised a storm and defeated it; and the state passed a law making it a crime to instruct any colored child from another state. Miss Crandall, a Quaker lady, disregarded this infamous law and was sent to jail! This attitude toward the colored population pervading the North, no moral strength remained against slavery. Human liberty and Christianity were both mocked and betrayed,— what could slavery ask more?

But what was slavery? The Louisiana Code said: "A slave is one who is in the power of a master to whom he belongs. He may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, and his labor; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire anything but what must belong to the master. They shall be held as real estate." South Carolina law said: "Slaves shall be deemed chattels personal to all intents and purposes whatsoever." They were not human, but animals; not men, but cattle; not rational beings, but stock. To teach them was crime. Men and women

might live together and have children as long as the caprice or interest of the master allowed, then the crack of the whip tore mothers and children apart forever. No rights, relations or affections; no virtue, no duty, no justice; no mercy or humanity interposed in their behalf. As a specimen: A large gang was purchased in the national slave market in Washington for the far West. A mother with several small children clinging to her, one little one in her arms, must go. She embraced them, all crying in agony, kissed them, pressed the infant to her heart; and when the awful word came to start, she lingered still, and only the driver's lash forced the last look and last embrace of her loved ones.

The Natchez Courier estimated the number carried from the northern slave states into Mississippi, Alabama, and Arkansas in 1836 at two hundred and fifty thousand to supply the demand for slave labor in those new regions for cotton and sugar raising; and there they were worked to death. Vital statistics showed an extra death-rate of slaves in those states of over three hundred thousand, from 1820 to 1830. Women gave birth to children at the hoe-handle! There were, in 1790, about seven hundred thousand slaves in the United States, and in 1830, two and a quarter millions. I once saw an exhibition of slaves for sale in a human stock-yard in New Orleans. There were perhaps forty, chiefly young men and women, in the enclosure, marched round in single file, some looking intensely indignant, others depressed and hopeless, especially females. Some tried to smile but only an instant. It was a sight of immortal beings no one could wish to see again.

One could but read the terrible words, "Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?"

But the fires on the altars of liberty never wholly went out in the land, flickering as they became after the great Missouri defeat. Quakers kept up their testimony against slavery, sustained by many others; and thoughtful men looked with serious apprehension on our country's future. Elias Hicks, a Quaker, published an able work against slavery in 1814, showing and laboring to produce a conviction of its wickedness. The same sentiment existed in Kentucky and Tennessee, the work of Rev. John Rankin, although he was compelled to move over into Ohio. William Goodell began in Rhode Island to publish against slavery in 1820, and wielded his powerful pen forty years.

But Benjamin Lundy was the morning star of Liberty. He did immense service, and at great hardship and sacrifice, by speech and press, to arouse a besotted people. He was of Quaker origin in New Jersey, a saddler by trade, and made himself intellectually by improving all his leisure time when a boy in solid reading. He labored with speech and types in the Middle and Western states and formed antislavery societies, also, in Virginia and North Carolina. In the latter state alone his societies in three years had three thousand members. He went to Baltimore and started a small antislavery paper in 1826. An American Convention had been held many years in Baltimore, but resolved in 1828, to meet thereafter in Washington, which it did, and died in 1829. There were then in the country one hundred and forty antislavery societies one hundred and

six in slave states. But they were like thousands of temperance organizations — so indefinite, inadequate and unaggressive as to produce little effect or last long. One plan was to have a new free region of country set apart for the removal of slaves. Another was the Colonization Society, noticed hereafter. Earnest against slavery, he had not yet reached the radical ground of unequivocal right and of power.

In 1828, he went east and became acquainted with Arthur and Lewis Tappan, Goodell, Leavitt, Wright, and others, and in Boston met Mr. Garrison, who had spoken strongly against slavery in a temperance paper. He found a congenial spirit. He went to Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Connecticut. He enlisted Mr. Garrison with him in his "Genius of Universal Emancipation" in Baltimore. In that Mr. Garrison so severely denounced a ship-master from Massachusetts for taking a cargo of slaves to New Orleans, that he was arrested and imprisoned. Arthur Tappan, aided by Deacon Dole of Hallowell, Maine, and others, paid the fine and he returned to Boston still better trained for his mission. He removed his paper to Chicago in connection with Mr. Eastman. From 1820 to 1830 Mr. Lundy traveled twenty five thousand miles, five thousand on foot; visited nineteen states, Hayti twice; and delivered two hundred addresses. He fully adopted the position of abolitionists in England, and of Garrison and others in this country — "Universal, Immediate Emancipation." He kindled the fires of antislavery all over the land, and died, worn out, August 23, 1835, aged fifty-one years. His glorious record is on high, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these."

CHAPTER III.

SECOND REVOLUTION. ABOLITION. ANTISLAVERY ORGANIZATIONS. THEIR PRINCIPLES AND MEASURES. SLAVE-HOLDERS DISTURBED. SERVILITY. HOSTILITY. PERSECUTION. MOBS. CHRISTIAN BOLDNESS OF MARTYRS. PROGRESS. THE DECLARATION RESTORED. INCREASED VIOLENCE. THE BIBLE SOCIETY. THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. ATROCITIES UNDER IT. THE VOTERS DID IT.

A NEW era of reform had now come. The example of England and other nations on the abolition of slavery was not unobserved in this country. Nothing could be more conclusively demonstrated than that "half-way measures," "gradualism," "compromising" with enormous sin and crime, would never abolish, but rather fortify them, by the moral debility which such absurdity would produce, making their authors actual accomplices in them. It was seen that "preparing to do right was continuing to do wrong," and that all these cowardly inventions were to escape a conflict with great popular wrong. History in this country for centuries proved the same conclusion — that going easy was going down, in such a world as this; and it began to be discovered by radicals and extremists that Divine law had but one word for sin and crime — *Stop!* "Have no complicity with the works of darkness." "Put away evil." "Cast out devils" — not "regulate" them.

The antislavery cause in England had been reconstructed on this basis and conquered; and its grand



heraldry had come over the ocean — "IMMEDIATE, UNCONDITIONAL EMANCIPATION!" Mr. Garrison seized it, threw it to the breeze, and stood by it with the rope around his neck. Other earnest antislavery men and women, scattered over the free states and some in slave states, rallied around this standard at quickstep. "Expediency," he said, "has no place on questions of simple Right." He began his "Liberator" in Boston, January, 1831; and a reason for locating there rather than further south was because it was more needed. He says in his first number, "I found here contempt more bitter, detraction more relentless, prejudice more stubborn, and apathy more frozen than among slave-holders themselves." Prominent reasons for this were, political partyism and the close commercial relation of New England with the South.

But the slave-holders instantly perceived, as by an electric flash, that if this new uprising should be allowed to go on, trouble was near. The old policy of tampering with slavery by successive "expediencies," and even exposing the evil without a positive remedy, they cared little about. Under it that haughty despotism had grown to power, political parties were undisturbed, and religious organizations had run smoothly. But now a death-knell is heard in the land, and with conscious guilt, they rose to fury, threatened the nation's life, and offered large rewards for those "fanatics," and nearly the whole volume of northern servile society responded by mobs, defamation and outrage. But the friends of right, liberty, justice, and Christianity stood the tempest like

martyrs, knowing that God was on their side. Said Mr. Garrison: "Tell a man whose house is on fire to give moderate alarm, tell a mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire, but urge me not to moderation in a cause like this. *I am in earnest; I will not equivocate; I will be heard!* I thank God that he enables me to disregard 'the fear of man that brings a snare.'" He appealed to ministers and churches, but met almost a solid rebuff.

So the cry for the oppressed grew louder and louder. Agitation produced thought and thought conviction. Antislavery societies sprang up, presses were established, and lecturers multiplied. In 1832, the New England Antislavery Society was formed in Boston on the solid basis — "Immediate Emancipation the duty of the master and right of the slaves." A Boston Female Antislavery Society soon followed. In New York City, a society was formed in 1833 by such noble men as Arthur Tappan, Lewis Tappan, Joshua Leavitt, Wm. Goodell, Elizur Wright, and others; but they had to hurry to escape a gathering mob. These able men were unsurpassed in service to the sublime cause. The Emancipator was established there about that time.

December 4, 1833, about fifty delegates met in Philadelphia to organize a National Antislavery Society. It was in session three days, avoiding evenings to escape mobs. Rev. Beriah Green, President of Oneida Institute, was chosen President, Lewis Tappan and John G. Whittier, Secretaries. A committee was appointed to prepare a Constitution, nominate officers, and draft a Declaration of principles

for all to sign after the manner of the old Declaration, which there in the same place gave us national existence, but which we had deserted in servile obsequience to relentless despotism. It must be raised again from the dead. The committee were: Dr. E. P. Atlee of Pennsylvania; W. L. Garrison and J. G. Whittier of Massachusetts; David Thurston of Maine; Wm. Goodell and Elizur Wright of New York; Simeon I. Joscelyn of Connecticut; J. M. Sterling of Ohio; Wm. Green of New York City; and S. J. May of Connecticut. We cannot copy those able documents, but must state the substance.

"The object of this society is the entire abolition of slavery in the United States. While it admits that each state in which slavery exists has the exclusive constitutional right to legislate in regard to its abolition in said state, it shall aim to convince all our fellow citizens that slavery is a heinous crime in the sight of God, and the best interests of all concerned require its immediate abandonment. This society will also endeavor in a constitutional way to influence Congress to put an end to the domestic slave-trade, and to abolish slavery in all those portions of our country which come under its control, especially in the District of Columbia, and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any state that may hereafter be admitted to the Union. This society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color by their intellectual, moral, and religious improvement, and by removing public prejudice, that they may share an equality with the whites in civil and religious privileges."

The declaration was a powerful paper. After stating their principles and measures, and referring to the old declaration of fifty-seven years before, they say: "With entire confidence in the overruling justice of God, we plant ourselves on the Declaration of Independence and the truths of Divine revelation as upon the everlasting rock. We will organize societies, send forth agents, circulate unsparingly tracts and periodicals, enlist the pulpit and press for the suffering and the dumb, aim at the purifying of the church from all participation in the guilt of slavery, and spare no exertions to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance.

"Submitting this Declaration to the candid examination of the people of this country and of the friends of Liberty throughout the world, we hereby affix our signatures to it, pledging ourselves that under the guidance and help of Almighty God we will do all that within us lies to overthrow the most execrable form of slavery ever witnessed on earth come what may to our persons, our interests, or our reputation; whether we live to witness the triumph of Liberty, Justice, and Humanity, or perish untimely as martyrs in this great, benevolent, and holy cause."

After the declaration was signed, the president made a closing address of thrilling eloquence and power. "We must now retire and breathe another atmosphere. The storm and tempest will rise, and the waves of persecution will dash against our souls. Let us fasten ourselves to the throne of God as with hooks of steel. If our cause is just — and we know it is, His omnipotence is pledged to its triumph."

And closing, he quickly lifted up his voice in prayer, full of fervor, "imploring the forgiveness and blessing of God to descend and sanctify the convention."

Were these the old prophets, apostles, and martyrs confronting the "powers of darkness"? The scorned, fearless defenders of Liberty have now taken the field as a National organization, seized the old deserted entrenchments where freedom conquered half a century before, and "with loins girt about with Truth" in behalf of a dying nation and two and a quarter millions of crushed, bleeding fellow-men, raise in principle the same old flag — "*Immediate, unconditional emancipation!*" A sublimer scene can scarcely be found in history. Among the twenty-five Vice-Presidents was Gen. Samuel Fessenden of Maine. A large Board of Managers was appointed.

The cause now rose to greater power. Papers were established, societies organized, and the ablest men entered the field as lecturers. Antislavery books, tracts, and other publications were widely circulated among the people. In May, 1835, the American Society had two hundred and twenty-five auxiliary societies; in 1836, five hundred and twenty-seven; and in 1837, about one thousand two hundred, with not far from one hundred and twenty-five thousand members. So mighty is truth when His conditions, to whom "all power is given," are complied with. The slave-holders now saw still more clearly their danger. Compromising was at an end, and arraigned at the bar of Right on a death warrant, their only protection was their old policy of threats, intimidation, and violence. Free speech must stop,

or slavery fall! But for this their reliance must be on their northern allies. And now arose a period of defamation, slander, assault, mobs, and outrage unequalled in a civilized country. At the summons of tyranny the great body of the free states rose to silence the voice of humanity, of justice, and of God.

An antislavery society was formed in Lane Theological Seminary at Cincinnati, and protracted discussions of slavery had enlisted nearly all the students in the cause, when the trustees stopped the discussion and ordered the society to be dissolved. Some students refused to submit and left the seminary. Among them was Henry B. Stanton and Theodore D. Weld, who devoted themselves to the cause of the slaves with a power and eloquence of speech and pen never equalled by American young men. The general attitude of current religion toward the cause of the slaves is seen in one fact. The American Bible Society had announced to the world that it had put a Bible in every family in the United States. Holding its annual meeting in New York the American Antislavery Society, then in session there, sent an offer of five thousand dollars to the Bible Society if it would appropriate twenty thousand dollars to supply the slave families of the country. A committee was appointed to present it, but they were not allowed to be heard and no notice was taken of it. This insult was the way they were "preaching the gospel to *every creature*."

Churches were generally closed against the subject and school-houses often locked. That year a mob

broke up a Fourth of July celebration in Philadelphia, another assaulted the house of Lewis Tappan and destroyed its furniture. Antislavery lecturers were pelted with eggs, stones and brickbats, homes of colored people were assaulted and burned, printing presses and types destroyed, and sometimes churches were burned. Antislavery meetings were assailed by the drunken rabble and "gentlemen of property and standing" together. In Cincinnati an organized mob, led on by popular men and church-members, destroyed the press and types of the "Philanthropist" and gave Mr. Birney twenty-four hours to leave the city. In New Hampshire Rev. G. Storrs was arrested as a "common rioter and brawler" at an antislavery meeting while on his knees at prayer, tried and sentenced to three months in the house of correction; but an appeal released him. In Boston a mob of thousands assaulted a meeting of ladies, dispersed it, seized Mr. Garrison, dragged him through the streets with a rope around his neck, tore his clothes, and his life was saved only by getting him into jail. Samuel J. May was mobbed five times while lecturing in Vermont. H. B. Stanton, the brilliant orator, had his meetings more or less broken up one hundred and fifty times in six years before 1840. These are only specimens of the general condition of those times, the history of which will be held nearly incredible.

But a glance at our official life at this period will still more impressively show the debasement and guilt to which slavery had brought us as a nation, and why its abolition was so persistently undertaken. And for this, reference can only be made to the

District of Columbia, the nation's capital, and under its absolute control. In 1801 Congress re-enacted the slave laws of Virginia and Maryland, over the sections of the District ceded by each of those states. No words can express this enormity at the outset of our national life, the Declaration waving before the world, with our appeals to God for the sincerity of our professions! Why did not the lightning bury that body in ashes? It was in direct violation of the Constitution which it had sworn to obey. *Congress could not enact a slave law!* But the people accepted it, and so took the responsibility.

Those laws held all colored people to be slaves unless they could prove their legal freedom, and could be seized by slave-hunters by day or by night, — fathers, mothers, children, — dragged to trial, then sold into hopeless slavery to pay cost, unless their right to liberty could be proved before such tribunals. Thousands upon thousands were thus dragged off, and slave-catching became a large official business, and the seat of government became the great "slave mart" of the country. John Randolph declared in Congress that the practice there "was not surpassed for abominations in any part of the world — not even on the African coast." "Processions were often seen in the streets of the city, of human beings handcuffed in pairs or chained in couples, wending their way to the slave-ships waiting to bear them to the distant south." (Wash. Spec., 1830.) And two years after Congress allowed the city to license slave-traders for four hundred dollars to traffic in human flesh! (Liquor license illustrated.)

In 1820, Congress authorized the city to punish slaves by whipping on the bare back for trifling offences — stripes not over forty. Any colored person was liable to arrest if at large after ten at night, and religious meetings could be invaded for that purpose. Dr. Crandall, a Christian gentleman, was arrested and lay in prison eight months, because an antislavery paper was found in his possession. Mr. Randolph said: "A poor negro, by hard work and by saving, laid by money enough to purchase the freedom of his wife and child. The poor fellow died, and the next day the woman and child were sold."

Here stood the government of this free Christian country for half a century, every voter responsible, but, with a few exceptions, undisturbed by its religion, humanity, or sense of guilt! "Be astonished, O heavens, at this!"

By the census of 1830, there were six thousand slaves in the District, held there as such by northern votes. In 1829 Mr. Miner of Pennsylvania said in Congress that "in the last five years seven hundred and forty-two colored persons had been committed to the public prison in Washington, *not one* charged with crime; and four hundred and fifty-two were lodged in the United States Prison for exportation." He visited the prison and saw a woman, a picture of woe, with four children, one at her breast. Inquiring for her story, she said she was a slave, but married a freeman, and had nine children. The affectionate father labored for their support until they became ten or twelve years old, then the master sold them one by one to slave-dealers. But now, when she

could no longer be profitable as a breeder, he separated her from her husband and home and sent her and her children to "*your* prison for sale." A man in the hands of slave-dealers there, and about to be sent off South, laid one hand on a block, and with the other took an ax and cut it off!

Such was slavery by authority and in the immediate presence of the National Government. That government was the vigilant guardian of the awful system, and employed all its powers in its support. The army was its police; the navy awaited its orders; Congress its perjured vassals; the cabinet its chosen tools; the judiciary its defence; political parties its agencies with the people; the church its "bulwark"; the sovereign voters responding *Amen*, at the ballot box! And this apostacy had been reached under an elective Constitutional Government, every power of which was consecrated to Liberty, and every foot of its soil, outside of original slave states, sacred to freedom forever, with every slave free who set foot upon it by consent of his master. What perjury! what lying to God and to men! Ballots did it. Will Justice sleep forever?

Here, more impressively than in England, was demonstrated the terrible consequences of following human theories, inventions, and expediencies against moral wrong, instead of the positive commands of God; of adopting gradualism against sin instead of "Thou shalt not"; compromising with crime instead of following common sense, common law, and the Bible—"*Cease* to do evil." This would have kept slavery from our shores, or extinguished it ages before



it fell, for that bold fidelity to right has with it the pledge of the Almighty. "O, that the people had hearkened to my voice!" "They that lead my people cause them to err." Other great reforms, that against the liquor crime now the most prominent, linger, and humanity weeps for the time when the Christian world shall be rightly instructed on this subject. When shall it once be?

But the voice, "Let the oppressed go free," "Break every yoke," had been heard by the nations, and slavery was rapidly falling. In this country tens of thousands were rallying around this standard, in spite of all forms of vituperation, hostility, and persecution. Our country on the verge of ruin must be restored, its outraged victims rescued, and man's redemption lifted onward.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CAUSE IN MAINE. CONDITION OF THE STATE. THE PIONEERS. GEORGE THOMPSON. FIRST STATE MEETING. MOB AT AUGUSTA. SOCIETY ORGANIZED. ITS CONSTITUTION. ROLL OF SIGNERS. WORK AMONG THE PEOPLE. RECOLLECTIONS. HOSTILITY. MOB IN BATH. CUMBERLAND COUNTY. AUGUSTA POLITICIANS. MAINE UNION.

MAINE was separated from Massachusetts and admitted to the Union in 1820, but only by selling itself to the slave-power through it representative, John Holmes, and faithfully fulfilling its vows. It had about three hundred miles of indented sea-coast, and in 1830 nearly four hundred thousand population, largely along its coast and rivers. Commerce was a leading business, and in 1840 its exports were twelve million dollars. A large part of this was pine lumber of every description. Fisheries were also a large business, employing twenty thousand tons of shipping and producing twelve million dollars annually. The vessels carried what freight they could obtain all down the coast to the West Indies, and bringing back or carrying abroad productions received in exchange.

The war of 1815 closed by opening trade with the West Indies, and rum, with molasses and sugar to make it, came back like a deluge, and liquor to an appalling extent flowed over the state. Alarmed as early as 1827, sensible men saw that their future must be remedy or ruin. They at last, after trying



various fallacies, fixed on the law of moral right, which is the only expediency against moral wrong.

Politically it was generally Democratic by a moderate majority; Jackson was elected in 1828, again in 1832, and Van Buren in 1836. The government was the absolute tool of the slave-power, and Maine was faithful to its early training. It was about as large as all the rest of New England, much of it forest, and with no railroads. It was bound to the South by political and commercial bands of steel. Let any ship-owner or master, or commercial parties be suspected of any sympathy with antislavery, and their chance for southern freight was at an end. The Whigs, being out of power, could wear a little fairer dress at home, but it is believed there was no harder free state to be revolutionized and placed morally and politically on the antislavery basis. Such was the condition of Maine when the spirit of Liberty began to kindle in the hearts of some of its noblest and best men and women in all parts of the state. They remembered their fathers, and Him who had led them out of Egypt. The cry of the helpless slaves reached their hearts, and their dying, betrayed country aroused them.

The class of men who first enlisted was not exceeded, if equalled, by any other of the same number in the state for intelligence, ability, moral and Christian worth. They laid reputation, fortune, and life if need be, on the altar of liberty and dared the conflict. They seized the heraldry from over the sea, which was ringing over the land — "*Immediate, unconditional emancipation,*" as the voice of the

Almighty, and upon it built their fortress. Many of their names will be found scattered through this history, and should be enrolled among those "who quenched the violence of fire, and turned to flight the armies of the aliens." This gave the cause moral power at the outset, and left the allies of slavery no arguments but detraction and mobs. Another principle was included which Mr. Garrison had persistently demanded should be in the antislavery societies first formed, but at which most of his supporters at first staggered. They soon accepted the repudiation of all caste prejudice of color and adoption of the equal rights and brotherhood of man. They dared to follow their own logic.

The first antislavery society in Maine, of which we have any knowledge, was formed in Hallowell. A meeting was held at the house of Deacon E. Dole, Nov. 18, 1833. Prayer by Deacon J. Gow. The subject was considered, organization agreed on, and a committee chosen to draft a constitution and nominate officers, then adjourned to meet next week in the town hall. The committee were, Rev. G. Shepard, E. Dole, R. D. Rice, P. Stickney, A. Allen.

Public notice and invitation were given, the meeting held, a report made, and constitution adopted. It asserted the rights of man, the atrocious wickedness of slavery, and "the duty to obey God and let the oppressed go free." The work to be done was the thorough instruction of the people of the whole country, the improvement of the free colored people, and abandonment of prejudice on account of color. Eben. Dole, president; Paul Stickney, vice-president;

R. Gardiner, treasurer; G. Shepard, corresponding secretary; R. D. Rice, recording secretary.

A call dated August 16, 1834, for a state convention to form a Maine Antislavery Society, to be held on the third Wednesday of October in Augusta, was sent over the state for signatures. It "invited all antislavery societies and friends of immediate emancipation" to come and "unite in fervent prayer to Almighty God to direct and bless our efforts to abolish slavery throughout the land." The petition was well signed by the weightiest names in the state.

George Thompson had come over from England. The work being accomplished there, for British emancipation had now become law, though with the apprenticeship provision, which was soon struck out, he was appealed to by Mr. Garrison and others to come to this country and aid in the great work in which he had been so influential at home. He was persuaded and came in the fall of 1834. He was a young man of remarkable powers, and Lord Brougham said "He had done more than any other man to achieve this most glorious victory." A few speeches spread the fame of his convincing eloquence, and his work was to begin in Maine. This brought him to Portland, October 12, the next day to Brunswick and on the fifteenth to Augusta to the state convention. His meetings were crowded with listeners who were delighted and inspired. This alarmed political servility. Rev. J. T. Hawes, writes:

Mr. Thompson addressed the meeting in a most powerful manner. He read from a paper published in Augusta an editorial notice of his expected presence, denouncing him as a "mischief-maker coming

across the ocean to teach Americans their political duties." And then he asked whether the good people of Augusta and vicinity sustained such a paper. He said that if it was a crime to have been born in England, he would submit it to the audience to say whether he had not sufficiently atoned for the offence by coming to America as soon as he could. The editor of the paper was present, bit his lips, whistled, and left the room. Several men followed him, and concocted a plan to raise a mob and break up the meeting if Mr. Thompson should appear in the house again.

He was invited to dine at Rev. Dr. Tappan's, and while there a message was sent to warn him not to appear in the Court House again. This message was delivered to Dr. Tappan, who, faint-hearted good man, persuaded him not to go; so he stayed with him during the afternoon. Then the whole convention moved down to Hallowell — two miles — where we had a grand meeting in the evening and the next day and completed our business. The next Sabbath, Dr. Tappan preached a sermon, which if any of the mobocrats heard, they did not soon forget. The Doctor was a little timorous at first, but soon firm and decided — a most worthy man.

Mr. Thompson lectured in Brunswick with persuasive effect upon the students of Bowdoin, and others who heard him. From there he went to Waterville where the students of another college shared the thrilling power of his eloquence. Then he was invited back again to Brunswick where students and a dense crowd felt again his power. Then he returned to Portland and lectured six times in as many churches. He went from there to New Hampshire, then to many other states, east and west, and did great, timely work for the cause of the oppressed. But mobs followed him in this land of liberty simply for appealing to us to be *honest* and stand by our profession of equal rights. Yet he was maligned, hated, hunted, and driven from our shores. He escaped death from a fierce excitement in Boston, led on by "men of prop-

erty and standing," by being conveyed in a small row-boat to an English vessel and sent to St. John, where he sailed for England about November 20, 1835. Has blood washed out all this guilt and shame? The underlying causes of it all were commercial avarice and political partyism, money, and office.

Mr. Thompson's labors were felt throughout the state, imparting strength and zeal to the cause which it never lost.

THE MAINE ANTISLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Convention met at Augusta and was called to order by Rev. Thomas Adams. Rev. David Thurston, of Winthrop, was chosen chairman, explained the objects of the meeting, and offered prayer. Hon. S. M. Pond, Eben. Dole, vice-presidents; S. K. Gilman, Rev. W. Parker, secretaries; Rev. S. L. Pomroy, S. Fessenden, Rev. S. Thurston, Dr. L. Perkins, Prof. C. Newton, executive committee; S. Fessenden, C. Newton, T. Adams, Edward Southwick, committee on the constitution.

CONSTITUTION.

Whereas, The most high God hath made of one blood all the families of men to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath endowed all alike with certain inalienable rights, among which are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and we therefore believe that the slavery existing in these United States, by which more than two millions of our fellow-countrymen are deprived of their rights, is a gross violation of the law of God, as well as of the fundamental principles of our government; and, whereas, we recognize it as a duty incumbent on all to do what they can to put an end to this system of oppression; and, whereas, we believe also it can be done, as in the case of intemperance, only by rational reform of individuals, and by consequence of public sentiment, and that we can act to this end most efficiently only by organized effort; therefore we, the undersigned, agree to form ourselves into a society for this purpose, to be governed by the following constitution:

ART. I. This society shall be called the Maine Antislavery Society, and shall be auxiliary to the American Antislavery Society.

ART. II. The fundamental principles of this society are, that slaveholding is a heinous sin against God, and, therefore, that immediate emancipation, without the condition of expatriation, is the duty of the master and the right of the slave.

ART. III. The leading object of the society is to do what it can by moral and religious means, and by no other, to secure the immediate and entire emancipation of our enslaved brethren and sisters. This society will encourage and promote the intellectual, moral, and religious improvement of the free people of color, and by correcting prevailing and wicked prejudices, endeavor to obtain for them, as well as the enslaved, an equality with the whites in civil, intellectual, and religious privileges; but will never countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by physical force.

ART. IV. Any person who assents to the above principles, may become a member of this society, by signing its constitution.

ART. V. The officers of the society shall be a president, one vice-president from each county, a corresponding secretary, a recording secretary, treasurer, and an executive committee of six, of whom the president and secretary shall be members. The president, vice-presidents, secretaries, and treasurer shall discharge the duties usually devolving on their respective offices. It shall be the duty of the executive committee to promote the great objects of the society in such ways as they may think proper, consistently with this constitution.

ART. VI. The annual meeting of the society shall be on the last Wednesday of October, and at such place as may be designated by the executive committee.

Paul Stickney,	Josiah Peet,	S. Smith,
Charles C. Cone,	Eusebius Heald,	R. D. Rice,
Joshua Bullen jr.,	Joseph Underwood,	J. Dow,
A. D. Jones,	Isaac Rogers,	W. Woodbridge,
Enos Foster,	Isaac Downing,	W. R. Prescott,
Seth May,	Peaslee Hoyt,	H. Stimson,
Jacob Hooper,	David P. Smith,	P. Morton,
Augustus Alden,	Alfred Lothrop,	Wm. Stickney,
Otis Hawes,	E. R. Warren,	R. G. Lincoln,
Edward Fairfield,	Henry Richardson,	S. Page,
Eben G. Parsons,	Edward Hotchkiss,	S. Pickard,
Eli Thurston,	Parker Jacques,	G. Starret,
William W. Thayer,	Ephraim Fobes,	W. A. Crocker,
Samuel C. Fessenden,	Rufus C. Bailey,	P. Cochran,

James Gow,
Ezekiel Robinson,
Peleg Wadsworth,
Jesse Russell jr. (?)
Joseph R. Carr,
Moses B. Sears,
Thomas L. Megquier,
Edward Southwick,
Ashbel Cram,
Dexter Baldwin,
John R. Taylor,
Thomas N. Lord,
Joseph Baker,
Charles Town,
Coker Marble,
John Richards,
Charles Russell,
Jos. Alexander,
Cephas W. Lewis,
Gilbert Pullen,
John Hovey,
Henry R. Cushman,
William Smith,
William E. Page,
Alvan Fogg,
John Blanchard,
Richard Thurston,
Jacob Southwick,
David Thurston,
Stephen Winslow,
Benjamin Tappan,
William Bradbury,
E. Sawyer Tappan,
Sumner French,
Ebenezer Mayo,
Leonard Bond,
Elihu Robinson,
James Bowen,
Andrew Croswell,
Samuel Cordis,
Jeremiah Smith,

Samuel Talbot,
Joseph Edgcomb,
Joseph Lufkin,
Henry C. Jewett,
Daniel B. Randall,
William Ladd,
John Godfrey,
Silas Curtis,
Daniel Carr,
John R. Shaw,
James Foster,
Samuel Benjamin,
Asa Redington jr.,
John Eveleth,
G. W. Shepard,
S. L. Pomroy,
Alex. Drummond,
J. C. Lovejoy,
W. Emerson,
C. A. Stackpole,
Wales Lewis,
G. W. Hathaway,
Peter Libby,
J. Gilpatrick,
Samuel M. Pond,
Chas. Soule,
G. E. Adams,
L. Hawes,
J. Drummond,
P. Follansbee,
J. Randall,
Wooster Parker,
H. Farwell,
C. H. Kent,
——— Wilkins,
P. Wadsworth,
A. Drinkwater,
G. Shepard,
E. Dole,
S. K. Gilman,
R. Gardiner,

W. E. Gordon,
Ed. Cook,
A. C. Millikin,
J. Cook,
S. Fessenden,
W. Coe,
Nathan Winslow,
R. Ruby,
S. Thurston,
E. Walker,
N. W. Sheldon,
G. W. Fargo,
E. W. Garrison,
W. May,
J. T. Hawes,
D. Talbot jr.,
E. Southwick,
J. Fairfield,
Ed. Fairfield,
S. May,
S. Sewall,
C. B. Marston,
E. Holmes,
C. Barrows,
B. Southworth,
A. Stanley,
J. Metcalf,
S. Benjamin,
S. Webb,
A. Alden,
M. H. Metcalf,
C. Newton,
C. I. Morrill,
I. E. Farnham,
N. Oliver,
H. W. Day,
G. L. Row,
G. M. Cummings,
G. Bradford,
S. W. Field,
L. Bickford,

Stephen Howes,	A. Alden,	T. B. Robinson,
Jesse Taylor,	E. Bond,	I. Clark,
Ira Towne,	T. Adams,	G. W. Fairbanks,
Josiah Tucker,	Moses Dodge,	Neal Dow.

The Constitution was unanimously adopted.

Voted, That the Convention are gratified in seeing among them a number of well-known friends of immediate emancipation from abroad, and that they are invited to take seats as corresponding members of this body.

George Thompson, England, Rev. Amos A. Phelps, Boston, agent American Antislavery Society, Cyrus P. Grosvenor, Salem, B. C. Bacon, Esq., Boston, secretary of the New England Antislavery Society, took seats. Many resolutions were offered, supported by various speakers, and adopted. Among them one, "solemnly disclaiming all hostility to slaveholders," believing we are seeking their highest good; another, severely condemning northern men who go south and become slaveholders; another, censuring all "uncharitable language." The evening session was occupied with addresses by Grosvenor, Thompson, and others.

THURSDAY FORENOON.—Prayer by Rev. C. Soule. Leading subject, our duty to seek the improvement and elevation of the free colored population, and cordially approving the action of the New England Antislavery Society in favor of establishing a manual labor high school for their children.

AFTERNOON.—*Resolved*, That ministers of the gospel of all denominations favorable to the antislavery cause be earnestly requested to deliver addresses or sermons on the subject on or about the 4th of July each year, and take up collections for the cause.

Resolved, That this Convention regards it as a duty, binding on all, "to remember those in bonds as bound with them," and therefore it regards with high satisfaction the formation of female antislavery societies.

It was also voted that, "while the peaceful abolition of slavery will require legislative action in the slave states, we utterly disclaim any intention of forming a political party, and shall consider the antislavery work done when the public sentiment is in harmony with the law of God on this subject."

Resolved, That this Convention most cordially and affectionately welcome their friend and fellow laborer, George Thompson, Esq., who after having labored with great success in efforts by our English

brethren for the abolition of slavery in the British Colonies, has now arrived among us to aid us to abolish slavery in the United States.

The following officers of the society were elected for the year: Samuel M. Pond, Bucksport, President; B. Smart, Kennebunk, S. F. Hussey, Portland, Samuel Pickard, Lewiston, S. Perkins, Hebron, Prof. C. Newton, Waterville, Dr. J. Bowen, Bloomfield, Rev. S. Thurston, Prospect, John E. Godfrey, Bangor, W. A. Crocker, Machias, John Buck, Orland, Vice-Presidents; Rev. G. E. Adams, Brunswick, Corresponding Secretary; S. K. Gilman, Hallowell, Recording Secretary; John Eveleth, Augusta, Treasurer; Asa Redington, Augusta, Eben. Dole, Hallowell, S. Sewall, Winthrop, Executive Committee. After stirring addresses and prayer, adjourned.

This meeting was large, able, earnest, and united. The state had no abler thinkers or speakers. But they were far from comprehending the conflict in which they had enlisted,— the power to be overcome, the condition of the country, or the measures to be demanded. Such lessons had to be learned in the field. But they vowed to "immediate emancipation" and boldly went forward.

The majestic voice of Him who came "to set at *liberty* [not half-liberty] them that are bruised," had now been responded to by his people in Maine, and they had rallied, organized, and taken the field of conflict. The cries of two and a quarter millions of helpless victims, our own countrymen, had been heard, and their "immediate emancipation" proclaimed in the name of Him to whom "All Power is given." If true soldiers, is there any doubt? They were yet unable to bring the artillery of the press into the state, nor had they the means of employing public speakers to much extent; they therefore relied on volunteer, unpaid labor. This was gladly given

by many ministers of all denominations, some lawyers, physicians, professors, and other intelligent men. The organization of county and town societies went on, and much antislavery literature was given to the people.

Rev. David Thurston left his pastorate at Winthrop one year, and, as agent of the American Antislavery Society, went over the state preaching—"Repent! prepare the way of the Lord, make his paths *straight*." His known faithfulness, ability, and devout Christian character gave the cause at its origin in the state a high moral attitude of immense value in all its history. Herod did not take his head, but took from him at last his old fond home.

Rev. C. C. Cone was a faithful and effective laborer in the state from the introduction of the cause to its close; and he is still in active life. He writes:

I was commissioned by the American Antislavery Society immediately after its formation to go from New Hampshire to Maine, and stir up the people on the great subject of American slavery. I came and found no difficulty in stirring them up. If I had come as an avowed incendiary with torch in hand, I don't know as I should have created greater excitement, or met with more determined opposition. I visited a few localities in York and Penobscot counties, and returned to my home in New Hampshire. There were then no antislavery organizations in Maine, but among politicians, commercial men, and many ministers and church members, there was a fearful looking for of the coming of abolitionism. In February, 1834, I returned to Maine and united with the Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. A few friends of the slaves in Bath and vicinity that year called a meeting to assemble in a little hall on Washington street, nearly opposite the Central Congregational Church. They had organized and were proceeding to consider the subject of slavery, when they were assailed by a mob which broke in the doors and windows, and made it necessary for the meeting to escape for their

lives. The papers notified the community that the "nigger folks" undertook to hold a meeting, when the "men of property and standing" drove them out; and all the people were notified that such an assemblage would not be tolerated in the loyal city of Bath. Loyal to slavery, they meant, for at that time the religion, politics, and trade of Bath were under the control of slavery.

Mrs. Simon Page of Hallowell, whose husband was one of the earliest, truest friends of the slaves, and whose beneficent, useful, Christian life will ever be precious to memory, writes:

Early in the antislavery movement, Mr. Garrison came to Hallowell and gave a lecture on the subject. The pulpits of Newburyport, his native place, were closed against him, but he found here a more genial soil in which to sow the good seed. And among those who were aroused to activity on the subject were Deacon Dole and his brother Daniel, who already felt for the oppressed, for an escaped slave had found his way to this town, and had been invited to speak in the Baptist church, and a son and daughter of Daniel had invited him home.

Mr. Garrison's visit here drew out the warmest friendship of Deacon Dole; and when he was afterward imprisoned in Baltimore, a good sum of money was sent by him for his release. He was one of the first to espouse the cause in Maine. He was a merchant of considerable wealth, intelligent, devout, remarkably liberal in giving, and lived "above the world." Such a man was "ready" for such a cause. I well recollect Mr. Thompson's coming to Augusta, and not allowed to speak there, he was hid in Dr. Tappan's house; and then to speak here in the evening they took him from one of the back windows and brought him down privately. But the roughs assailed the house, broke some glass — then followed him here, stationed themselves in the gallery of the Baptist church armed with stones and eggs, but the police cleared them out.

A measure characteristic of the times was a call "to the citizens of Augusta without respect to party," August 19th, 1835, "all who are opposed to the action of the abolitionists," who "respect the rights of their brethren of the South, and are deter-

mined to maintain the compact bequeathed to us by the fathers," to meet and "make known to citizens of slave-holding states that we will never consent to the violation of the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution," that "we abhor and detest the mad career of a few men," etc. This was signed by nearly one hundred, including Ruel Williams, Luther Severance, R. C. Voce, G. White, lawyers, members of Congress, and leading politicians. They must pacify their overseers at whatever sacrifice of truth or constitutional liberty. How certainly our country's liberties would have been hopelessly lost had not a new force been raised up to assert and defend them. How do these men look in history?

Another representative movement was the formation of a "Maine Union in behalf of the Colored Race," by a meeting in Portland of seventy-four delegates from forty-two towns. The plan began by a meeting of "ministers and laymen" in Bangor. Wm. Ladd was made President, Asa Cummings and others, its other officers. Its object was to "ameliorate the condition of the colored race," and abolish slavery "as soon as it can be done with the free will of the slave-holders," drawing them "with bands of affection"; and saying that they had "no right to interfere with the legal relation except by kind, moral influences." They offered to aid slave-holders in sending "missionaries to preach the Gospel to the slaves." The next year the Union met, but nothing had been done, and nothing further is known of it. They were not "radicals," but were to "allay all excitement," and "mitigate" sin!

Mrs. Lincoln, whose husband, R. G. Lincoln, was one of the earliest active abolitionists, writes:

I recollect a visit of Mr. Garrison at my father's house in Hallowell, when he was a young man, and had just commenced the Liberator. He said he thought he would go out in the world and let the people see that he had not seven heads and ten horns, as many supposed. When good old Dea. Dole dared to speak or pray for the slaves in a prayer-meeting, I have seen brethren rise and leave the vestry. Such was religion then. Our home was the home of the first fugitive slave that ever visited that region. We once entertained Rev. H. H. Garnet, an educated colored minister of Troy, N. Y. He said he often thought of the hymn,

"I would not live alway,"

on account of his suffering from color-prejudice. He was riding with Seth May to Winthrop, when a man looked up into the carriage and said, "I suppose this is what you term equality." Mr. Garnet looked him in the face and replied with emphasis, "I should be sorry to be on an equality with you, sir."

The Congregational Church in Winthrop as early as August 20, 1835, adopted the principle in substance, which afterward became a great religious issue, that slave-holding was a disciplinable offence in a Christian church. The constant progress of this truth while slavery remained was a powerful moral force upon the South. It said:

"The church was designed to diffuse light in this dark world, and to reform its wickedness"; but it could never do this while cherishing or countenancing it. "Professed Christians were holding their fellow-men in slavery, which annihilates God's distinction between *persons* and *things*"; drags down to chattels more than "two millions of beings created a little lower than the angels, and crowned with glory and honor," immortal, purchased by the Saviour's blood; and as "the gospel forbids fellowship with works of darkness, therefore, *Resolved*, That we cannot receive a slave-holder as a minister of the gospel, nor as a communicant at the table of the Lord."

CHAPTER V.

FIRST ANNUAL MEETING. MOBS. PROGRESS. ACTION. MOB IN BLOOMFIELD. PORTLAND ANTISLAVERY SOCIETY. LADIES' ANTISLAVERY SEWING CIRCLE. FUGITIVES. COLONIZATION SOCIETY. GREAT MOBS IN UTICA, N. Y., BOSTON, MONTPELIER, VT. WAR IN CONGRESS. RIGHT OF PETITION. ROBBING MAILS. "SEVERE" LANGUAGE. JAMES G. BIRNEY, H. B. STANTON, JOSHUA LEAVITT, T. D. WELD.

THE FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MAINE ANTISLAVERY SOCIETY.

MET at Brunswick, Oct. 28, 1835. Rev. S. Thurston in the chair. Prayer by Rev. S. L. Pomroy. Beside other committees, one was appointed consisting of Rev. D. Thurston, Rev. T. Adams, and Prof. W. Smyth, "to report an address to the people of the South, stating the principles and purposes of the society." Officers chosen: Samuel M. Pond, President; Samuel Fessenden, B. Smart, S. Perkins, C. Newton, J. Bowen, S. Pickard, S. Thurston, J. E. Godfrey, J. Buck, W. A. Crocker, Vice-presidents; G. E. Adams, Corresponding Secretary; Prof. Smyth, Recording Secretary; E. Dole, Treasurer. The president, secretaries, and Rev. J. Butler, James McKeen, J. Appleton, Executive Committee.

AFTERNOON.—Prayer by Rev. J. P. Fessenden. Rev. D. Thurston offered a resolution, "That slavery is a great moral question, deeply affecting the vital interests of morality and religion throughout the land, and all Christian churches and ministers of the gospel have something to do with it, and in our opinion ought to labor with untiring zeal for its legal, peaceful, and speedy termination." Rev. S. L. Pomroy offered a resolution, "assuring our fellow-citizens of the South" that we fully recognize their legal rights, and seek to convince them that they ought, for their own sake, for the sake of American liberty, now a hissing, and for Christianity, to wipe from their statutes all slave laws, and restore two and a quarter million immortal beings to themselves, to freedom, and to the influences of the gospel. Addresses and discussions followed.

THURSDAY.—Prayer by Rev. G. Shepard. Mr. Pomroy offered a resolution, that the assumed right of property in man was in violation

of natural and revealed religion, a self-evident sin against God, and ought to be instantly repented of and abandoned. Rev. J. T. Hawes offered another, that we ought to pray for slave-holders, that they may see and do their duty. Others were offered and maintained, denying the charge of vituperative language, challenging discussion with opponents, declaring that the right of free speech "shall never be surrendered while there remains a drop of pilgrim blood in our veins." Another, against the Colonization Society.

I. N. Dodge offered a resolution, That we urge all antislavery societies in the state to procure immediately signatures to petitions to Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and forward them at once. It was resolved that the cause was advancing and will triumph.

Dea. Dole moved that two thousand dollars be raised for the objects of the society during the ensuing year, and eight hundred and eighty-seven dollars were pledged on the spot. The meeting was well attended by delegates from different parts of the state, new members obtained, faith and courage strengthened, and closed with prayer by Rev. D. Thurston.

The Secretary's Report stated that several agents had been commissioned for longer or shorter time, in different parts of the state. They had labored perseveringly and spoken plainly. Societies had been formed, meetings held, addresses delivered and antislavery publications circulated. Although a most violent opposition has been made, the cause has made progress. A large number of clergymen of different denominations and other respected and influential men of different professions and political parties have united with the friends of liberty.

A tremendous storm of opposition has been beating upon the heads of abolitionists for several months past. They have been charged with the most traitorous and murderous designs. The whole vocabulary of vituperative epithets has been exhausted in denouncing them. Their meetings have been dis-

turbed or broken up by mobs. Even their lives have been threatened, and in several cases have been in extreme danger. The Report then dwells on the duty of the crisis. The address to the South ordered was printed and widely circulated there. It was a powerful paper, and even John C. Calhoun admitted its ability.

About this time Rev. D. Thurston was delivering a lecture in Bloomfield, when so much disturbance was made as to break up the meeting before the address was completed. Mr. D. N. Ropes, an active abolitionist in Portland in the early days of the cause, now in New Jersey, writes:

I think the Portland Antislavery Society, and the Ladies' Antislavery Sewing Society must have been formed as early as 1833. Their prominent members were, first and foremost, the noble-hearted Gen. Fessenden, Friend Hussey and his two daughters, Miriam and Ruth, N. Winslow and his three daughters, Oliver Dennet, wife and daughter, R. Horton, wife and daughter, Gen. J. Appleton and all his large family old enough, J. W. Appleton and son John, Josiah Dow and daughters, most devoted, his son Neal, Miss Wetmore, Charles Barbour, Arthur Shirley and daughter, Mary Cook, George Ropes and wife, Miss E. Ruggles. The one principle was, immediate emancipation. The Liberator was taken generally. The sewing circle met semi-monthly — gentlemen in the evening. Antislavery people were generally held as fanatics. The churches and ministry generally were either dumb or defended slavery from the Bible. The Christian Mirror was decidedly hostile to the cause. Every church in Portland was closed against lectures except Friends and Free-will Baptists. A second lecture by Mr. Thompson in the Friends' house was assailed by a mob, — one was arrested and fined, defended naturally by R. Codman. My brother's house was at times a station on the Underground Railroad. One Sunday morning early there arrived in care of a friend a colored man about forty years of age, trembling like an aspen leaf, who very reluctantly entered the house. He thought he had caught sight of his master in Boston, and was

sent to Portland on the way to Canada, and could not rest even to eat. He started with fright at the opening of a door. A carriage soon took him on his way.

The Colonization Society had to be met among the first issues of the abolition cause. It originated in Virginia. Thoughtful slave-holders saw that the free colored population were becoming a dangerous element at the South, and various schemes had been proposed to get rid of them. One was to move them to new territory, but that was impracticable. Then the plan was devised to obtain territory on the coast of Africa and establish a colony of free colored people willing to go, and of slaves whom their masters wished to liberate for that purpose. It had been suggested occasionally for many years, but afterward adopted and the society organized in 1816. It was avowed at the South that its object was the safety and permanency of slavery, but it had another dress at the North where it received extensive support. There was much opposition to slavery still lingering, but it had no remedy; and here was a chance to send back to their native land the hated free colored people, North and South, open a door for all slaves whom their masters were willing to emancipate, establish missions in Africa, and perhaps, they said, carry back at some time the whole colored population of the country! Was not this "better than nothing"? If not "half-a-loaf" it was a crumb; so the old compromising gradualism against God's law prevailed, and was sustained for half a generation. It was antislavery at the North, and proslavery at the South. The result was — as it always is when tam-

pering with sin, — the spirit of liberty was more fatally paralyzed, Christianity betrayed, the great Sin protected and strengthened, and the country sunk to servile guilt and shame incredible to history. But the principle of immediate emancipation arraigned the system, and it fell.

At the same time as the great mob in Boston already noticed, another occurred in Utica, N. Y., where a large convention of six hundred had met to form a State Antislavery Society, October 21, 1835. ~~Abram~~ Ivan Stewart, a lawyer, had engaged the Court House; and when this was known certain "prominent gentlemen" called a public meeting and planned to occupy the Court-room at the same time. The delegates finding the room occupied by a liquor-maddened crowd, repaired to a Presbyterian church, organized, adopted a draft of Constitution, and the Society was formed. But now the mob broke in and filled the air with imprecations, curses, and threats of violence. The convention hastily adjourned, and by invitation of Gerrit Smith went to Peterborough and completed their business.

On the same day as the Utica mob, another was raging in Montpelier, Vt. Rev. S. J. May was invited to address the Vermont Antislavery Society. The legislature was in session, and the hall of the House was engaged, and filled in the evening. Stones and eggs were thrown through the windows. At the close Mr. May was invited to address the people in the largest church in the place the next evening. The next day he received a letter from six leading citizens warning him not to speak, and

posters were put up warning the people not to go; but the house was thronged. As he began to speak the leader of the rowdies rose and commanded him to stop, but he persisted, and was assailed by boisterous outcries, and the meeting was broken up. These were specimens of the times.

In Congress the war was raging — the prominent issue being on the right of petition. In the last state meeting petitioning for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia was strongly urged; and the same was going on all over the free states, and thousands of petitions were pouring into Congress. Early in the session of 1836 Mr. Jarvis of Maine offered a resolution, that abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia ought not to be entertained by Congress, and petitions for it should thereafter be laid on the table without being read or printed. Mr. Wise of Virginia said this was "entirely evasive," there must be a "bold vote," and moved to amend by declaring that "no power was granted to Congress to abolish slavery in the District, and any attempt to do it would endanger the Union."

A long, fierce wrangle of months followed. Calhoun moved to reject all antislavery petitions. "Nothing," he said, would stop the petitions but a strong rejection of them. Buchanan presented some petitions from Friends in Pennsylvania, and moved to receive them, then instantly reject their prayers. Calhoun said this was a "trick, an artifice to deceive." At last a vote was reached — ten for Calhoun's motion, thirty-five against it; and all but six senators for Buchanan's motion. The petitioners

were raided by every term of vituperation, and northern hostility and violence praised both by northern and southern senators, a few only excepted. Such was the treatment received for seeking to relieve our nation from the guilt and shame of slavery in its capital! But party was at the bottom of all this with northern politicians. Van Buren must be elected that year, and southern masters must be pacified.

But the sophistry against abolishing slavery in the District has survived its advocates. The argument was, — slavery being lawful within the states, it would be greatly injured by abolishing it in the District, therefore it was wrong, because it was wrong to do indirectly what we had no right to do directly. Now this same logic is used against prohibiting the liquor traffic because it will interfere with the personal right to drink by cutting off the supply. If doing right obstructs wrong indirectly, so much the better.

But petitions continued to pour in — one hundred thousand in 1836 — and there were enough in each House who would present them, and the fight went on. John Q. Adams was in the House, and he firmly took the front in defence of the right of petition, although strangely refusing to support the objects of the petitions. He was assailed, and an attempt made to censure him by vote of the House, but "the old man eloquent" maintained his position against all hostility. But the slave-holders began to perceive that the assaults of northern serviles on the abolitionists were not silencing them as they hoped, but only making them more bold and uncompromis-

ing. Another measure must be tried, and southern legislatures applied to northern states to pass laws forbidding antislavery publications and discussions, and these were considered; but such violations of the rights of free speech and the press were a little too much even for northern obsequiousness, and failed. The effort was made in 1835 to prevent the circulation of antislavery matter in the mails. A gang assaulted the post-office in Charleston, S. C., plundered it, destroying what was suspicious, and a public meeting — ministers prominent — justified it. The Postmaster General was appealed to, who substantially approved it.

But the friends of liberty, only invigorated by all this persecution, were more active and uncompromising, and the great upheaval advanced constantly as the people were informed. Violent hostility was thus the means of keeping up the agitation against itself; agitation led to information and thought, and that to constant enlistments and progress. Nothing less could have kept up life amidst such besotted stupidity. A characteristic of those times was the denunciation of the opposers of slavery for using "harsh language," "too severe," "uncharitable," "malignant," etc., in describing the guilt of slave-holders and their active or silent *particeps criminis*. This was always the outcry against faithful dealing with sin. The old prophets heard it, apostles and martyrs heard it, and Christ, also, for his most terrible "woes" on the guilty ever heard on earth. All effective reformers have borne this charge, and ever will if the "sharp two-edged sword" of truth does its work. He who

does not strive to the utmost to make truth felt, betrays it. Accept or fight. "Cold or hot." Anything less against obdurate insensibility to crime is worthless trifling, and is crime itself. Here was the element of power in the war on slavery; and while it brought heavy blows back upon its assailants, it assured the victory. Garrison's motto was characteristic of the cause—"I will be felt"; and who now fails to honor it? It was the highest benevolence. When will professed Christianity follow its Author? "I came not to send peace but a sword!" How soon would the fortresses of earth's woes begin to tremble!

A brief notice of a few prominent antislavery men of the country will add to the intelligence of the cause. James G. Birney was a native of Kentucky, a slave-holder and a lawyer. He was also a Christian and member of the Presbyterian church, and held a very high position in society. He moved to Alabama, and in 1828 was Solicitor General of the state. His heart was never at ease respecting slavery. In 1833 he returned to Kentucky and joined the Kentucky Gradual Emancipation Society. He zealously enlisted in the Colonization Society, hoping something from it for the slaves; but Mr. Garrison's and other arguments soon convinced him that it was a mistake. Antislavery arguments continued to reach him and his honest mind and humane heart embraced them. He liberated his slaves, and soon attempted the publication of the "Philanthropist" in Kentucky; but the slave-holders roused and defeated it. Then he went over to Cincinnati with types and press, but

met the same hostility there, and he moved twenty miles to New Richmond, a Quaker town, and began his work. His paper was so well received by the public that he went back with it to Cincinnati. But hardly had he got established when "men of property and standing," about half church members, raised a storm, and when he was absent lecturing on the evening of August 1, 1836, a mob assaulted the office, demolished and threw everything into the street except the press, which they threw into the middle of the Ohio river. In 1837 he removed to New York, and did noble service to the cause as secretary of the American Antislavery Society. In 1839 his father died leaving a large property to him and his sister, including twenty-one slaves. All these were at his request set off to him — valued at near twenty thousand dollars, and at once set at liberty. He was courteous, able and true, and will be heard from hereafter. The Philanthropist was afterward restored in charge of Dr. G. Bailey, an able editor.

Henry B. Stanton, one of the Lane students, was not exceeded on the platform in solid logic, eloquence, and inspiration, and did great service for the cause. Theodore D. Weld, another of those students, was a mighty man raised up for the work. The masterly book, "Slavery as it is," had immense power. Joshua Leavitt, long editor of the Emancipator at New York and other papers, perhaps did the cause more pen-service than any other man. There were also women of eminent usefulness — Mrs. Maria Child, and two sisters from South Carolina by name

of Grimke, Lucretia Mott, Mrs. Stowe, and many others. Whittier and others contributed the mighty power of poetry. Wendell Phillips, called out first by the murder of Lovejoy, gave his superior oratory to the cause of the speechless slaves.

CHAPTER VI.

SECOND ANNUAL MEETING. NO PROTECTION. PROFESSOR SMYTH. WORK RENEWED. RELIGIOUS HOSTILITY. AMONG THE PEOPLE. RECOLLECTIONS. MOB AT BRIDGTON. POLITICAL CONDITION. LOVEJOY THE MARTYR.

THE Second Annual Meeting of the Maine Antislavery Society was held in Portland, October 27, 1836. A request had been sent to the Mayor the day preceding for the use of the City Hall, signed by about thirty antislavery men in Portland whose names have nearly all been mentioned, and the meeting appointed Gen. Fessenden and Rev. David Thurston a committee to ask the Mayor, Levi Cutter, to protect their meeting in the evening. They reported his answer that "he was willing to do what he could, but could do nothing." The meeting was held in the old Friends' Meeting-house on Federal street, though not without disturbance by stones, clubs and clamor.

This meeting was able and successful. The Secretary reported that the Address to the South ordered last year had been very extensively circulated among distinguished men in all the slave-holding states. The following paper from distinguished men is valuable history.

BANGOR, Oct. 24, 1836.

To the Members of the Maine Antislavery Society Assembled in Portland:

RESPECTED FRIENDS: — Not being permitted to meet with you on the second anniversary of our society, we take this method to assure

you of our unabated interest in the great and good cause in which you are engaged. Our hearts are with you, and we trust that you will be guided, in all the measures you adopt, by that wisdom which is from above. We feel that the friends of immediate and universal emancipation in this country have abundant reason to thank God and take courage. The God of the oppressed is on our side. The Christians and philanthropists of Britain are with us. We have the sympathy and prayers of 800,000 emancipated brethren and sisters in the West Indies, 2,500,000 of our oppressed countrymen are ready to help us in any way they can, and *Truth* and *Righteousness* are the founders and supporters of our cause. Surely it cannot fail. The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but they are mighty. We cannot but hope and confidently expect that the year to come will witness a far greater progress in this righteous cause than any that has preceded it. Go on, dear friends, and cease not to plead for the oppressed. Your friends and brethren,

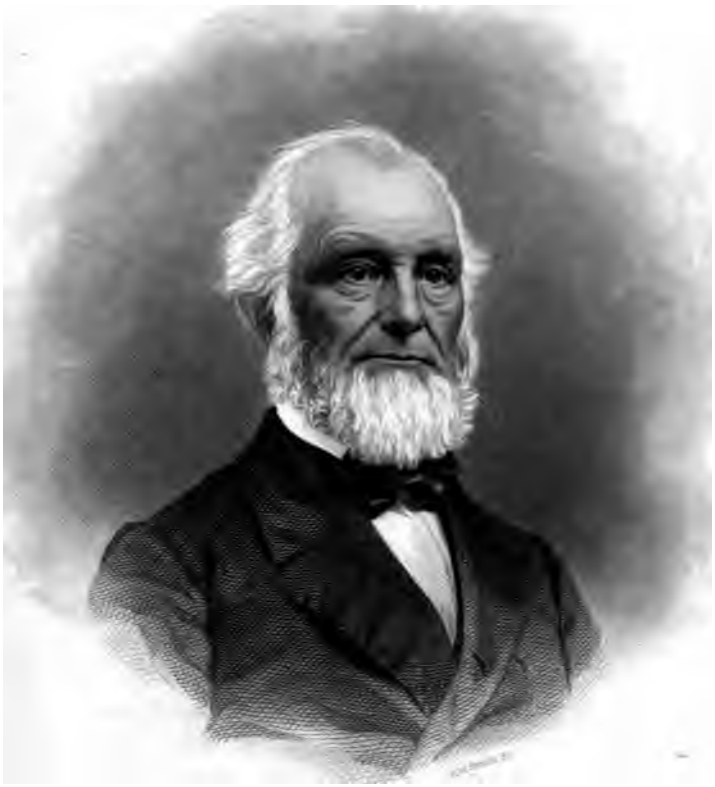
S. L. POMROY,
GEORGE SHEPARD.

Gen. Fessenden offered a lengthy resolution and supported it, showing that the Constitution, in providing for the surrender of criminals, was not intended for cases of alleged fugitive slaves. The following resolves were also adopted.

Resolved, That those laws of southern states and District of Columbia which authorize the seizure, imprisonment, and selling into hopeless bondage, persons of color guiltless of crime, on presumption that they are slaves only because of their color, is a flagrant violation of the Constitution, and at open war with the American bill of rights, and deserves the execration of every lover of his country and its free institutions.

Resolved, That the recent publication of President Wayland entitled "The Limitations of Human Responsibilities," which has been extensively circulated and adopted as a text book at the South by slaveholders, and their supporters at the North, so far as it relates to antislavery action is inaccurate in statement, sophistical and deceptive in reasoning, absurd in conclusions, and totally unworthy of the reputation of its distinguished author.

[redacted]



Wm Smyth.

BOWDOIN COLLEGE, Oct. 25, 1836.

DEAR SIR: — It is with much regret, that I am obliged, in consequence of my official duties, to deprive myself of the pleasure of attending the annual meeting of the Maine Antislavery Society. Will you please to express my fraternal regards to the members of the society, with my earnest desire that the present meeting may be eminently instrumental in promoting the objects of our association, and also the assurance of my hearty co-operation in any measures, which may be adopted for the propagation of its principles.

Respectfully yours
WILLIAM SMYTH.

The officers of the society were re-elected, funds raised, prayers offered, and all strengthened to new endeavors.

Professor William Smyth of Bowdoin College was one of the earliest to enlist in Maine for the overthrow of slavery, and the eminent work which he did as Secretary of the society has been observed already in its annual reports. He was an accomplished scholar, a clear, discriminating, logical reasoner, and a faithful Christian. He sought to know the right and the true, and had the moral courage to stand by it. To no other writer was the antislavery cause in Maine so much indebted in its earlier years as to him. He had a long discussion with a southern man in the Christian Mirror. His ability, character, and position commanded respect even from its enemies. He led the argument for the Liberty Party in the state. How he could hold his position in the college and do all this in those times, appears strange. Professor E. C. Smyth of Andover Theological Seminary, contributes recollections of his father, which are of much interest. The policy of the students in

the case mentioned, was the most admirable ever invented. He writes:

My father left no diary. I remember the starting of the paper. I recall also my father's reading to my mother his antislavery reports, and my eager desire to sit up after the hour for bed arrived and hear them through. I presume it was the fire, the enthusiasm, of the reader which captured me. My mother toned them down, but was in full accord, and deserves a share in whatever honor now comes to my father's memory, for what was really a self-sacrificing and heroic contest.

Brunswick, as so many other towns in Maine, had many citizens whose interests were involved in the cotton trade. I remember my father's being mobbed in Brunswick with some antislavery speakers. His house was one of the stations of the underground railway. Slaves secreted themselves in vessels coming to Portland, or in other ways reached that city, and friends would send them on to Brunswick. There was a black settlement about four miles further on, and they were helped on to Canada. I remember the wales and scars on the backs of the poor creatures.

My father wrote, published, and lectured a great deal. Once an effort was made to remove him from his Professorship for his antislavery work. The pretext was to be, neglect of his college work on account of absorption in other matters. A committee of the right sort was appointed to examine the classes. The students got wind of it. When the examination came off, to my father's surprise, not a man failed at the board. A certain percentage of deficit in mathematics might ordinarily be expected, but now every student performed his task. There never was such an examination; my father knew nothing of the reason until later. The plot was completely discomfited. I often think of it as a proof of the just and generous nature of young men. There were minor persecutions enough. Our house was a home for antislavery lecturers, committees, etc., and its slender means of hospitality must have been sorely taxed. The patient heroism of my mother stands out now to my thought illuminated.

The great conflict was firmly maintained in the state against social ostracism, religious disparagement, slander, and violence, and steady progress was going on in the public mind. The attitude generally

of current religion was deplorable. While zealously engaging in the missionary work, both home and foreign, in obedience to the command — "disciple every creature," and reporting the Bible in every family in the country, there lay two and a quarter millions of crushed, perishing fellow creatures at our own door pleading for that gospel as no other human beings could plead, but all unheard, repudiated, "passed by on the other side," without even a demand on the tyrants who held them for the right to "disciple" them. And worse still — denouncing and assailing as fanatics those who plead, toiled, and prayed for them! One illustration:

Southern states were calling on the North to forbid by law public speaking and printing against slavery, and this was considered by northern legislatures and strongly supported though not quite adopted. Leonard Woods junior, son of Dr. Woods of Andover, editor of the "Theological Review" in New York, declared that "abolitionists were justly liable to the highest civil penalties and ecclesiastical censures." But very little dissent was heard from Congregational and Presbyterian ministers who supported it, and he was afterward made a doctor of divinity and President of Bowdoin College. And there was no defence of this because of darkness and ignorance. The worst foes to Christianity are not the Paines and Ingersolls.

Extracts from early veterans in the cause will indicate how the work went on among the people. Some aid came from without the state. Henry B. Stanton gave several lectures in Portland in Septem-

ber, 1836, and there again was assailed by a rabble with missiles. Mr. N. Gammon writes:

I think the first lecture I heard on slavery was by Rev. David Thurston. He visited Phillips and lectured amidst very great opposition. The church was locked against him by Joel Whitney Esquire, who took the key and left town. Mr. Thurston spoke in the schoolhouse and made the locking of the church his theme, with telling effect. His lecture had a grand influence. Phillips was strongly Democratic in those days. With a few others I stood by the poor slaves amidst the most bitter opposition. I took papers and tracts, and the postmaster, Lincott, would often write "nigger" on them.

Mr. Enos Mitchell of Pittston says:

The first antislavery lecture I ever heard was by Professor Smyth. He spoke in our meeting house about 1836, and raised quite a breeze. Deacon E. Lowe gave a lecture there against Professor Smyth. My father, J. N. Mitchell, my brother Jabez, and myself formed a society in our town against great opposition. The whole church was against us three, but we gained every year. We got a minister who preached a little abolition, but the majority voted him off.

Rev. J. T. Hawes gives further recollections:

Rev. Joseph Fessenden, of South Bridgton, a true, devoted man, had a meeting broken up by a mob, headed by Nathaniel S. Littlefield, who was afterwards a member of Congress, and voted for the rascally Fugitive Slave Law. On his return from Washington a meeting was called in Bridgton to consider that diabolical act, and he was invited to attend and explain his act, which he called, "the proudest of his life." He did not come, but sent a letter in which he compared his opponents to "a flock of barking whelps snapping their teeth at a noble mastiff who proudly disdained to take the least notice of them." Mr. Fessenden he described as a "reverend gentleman who wears a black coat, and whose heart is blacker than his coat." After the letter was read, Mr. Fessenden said he should make no reply, "The gentleman had called himself a bulldog, and it might go at that." Such were some things said and done in those days that tried men's souls.

The year 1836 was one of severe political contest. Jackson's administration was closing, and Van

Buren's election, involving the continuance of the Democratic party in power, was in issue. The nation had been sinking in guilt and shame under the administration of its government on the implied assumption that the destruction of liberty and the protection of slavery were its supreme objects to which all else must yield. That was "Democracy," and to it the whole party machinery must demonstrate its fidelity or forfeit the confidence of its southern masters. And this demand on their northern serviles was greatly increased by the steadily rising upheaval in the North, the flag of which was death to slavery from the Almighty. Every discerning man there foresaw what must result if this was not stopped.

But it was beyond their reach by law or violence. Had the latter been possible against northern abolitionists, a scene as bloody as the French Revolution would have been witnessed. But they could only appeal to northern legislatures, and offer large rewards for the surrender of the fanatics to their power, except to demand of political allies and tools as the condition of support, that they should put down this rebellion. And for this they must chiefly rely on partisans whose party they had placed in power. This explains why Democratic politicians in Maine were leaders in antislavery violence and mobs. Party success required it; and party was and still is supreme. This secured the election that year of Van Buren, "the northern man with southern principles," and bound the party to fidelity.

But the Whigs, being out of power, could be a little more tolerant at the North, admit some abstract truths like the right of petition, be "the more favorable party," and go as far for liberty as the party at the South would bear, then "wait to see what would turn up." This was the political condition of the country at that time, and in general the condition of Maine. Could it ever be reformed, reconstructed, and placed on the basis of the despised, hated, mobbed abolitionists against such mighty opposing forces? The cry, "You can't, You can't," filled the air, from saints and sinners. But a body of men and women had appeared, though still small, who believed that God was stronger than Satan, and that his pledge of power to bold, faithful endeavor against sin and wrong, was reliable. Were they mistaken? Wait and see.

Elijah P. Lovejoy, who was killed at Alton, Illinois, for maintaining the freedom of speech and the press against slavery, must have an honored place in this history, however brief, for he was a son of Maine. His father was a Congregational minister in the state, and had three sons — Elijah P., Joseph C., and Owen Lovejoy. All were ministers of more than average ability. Joseph C.'s name has already been mentioned as an early and able advocate of the slaves in his early ministry. Owen was his equal. Both were graduates of Bowdoin College and Bangor Theological Seminary, and Owen went west to Illinois, settled at Princeton, but was so powerful and devoted to the cause of liberty, that he was elected

to Congress about the time of Lincoln's election as President. He was fearless and faithful till his death.

Elijah P. was the eldest, and after his graduation at Waterville, went west to St. Louis as a teacher, but soon went east to Princeton, studied theology awhile, became a Presbyterian minister, returned, and soon became editor of a religious paper. His ability, and excellence of Christian character placed him in high estimation. He was not an abolitionist at first, but events occurred which compelled him as a true man to speak. Early in 1837 two boatmen got into an affray and were arrested, when a slave named McIntosh interfered and enabled them to escape. He was arrested, and when told that he would be imprisoned, perhaps hung, he drew a knife, wounded one of the officers and slew the other, but he was put in jail, when a mob broke in, dragged him out, bound him with a chain to a tree, and kindled a fire around him. After twenty minutes of agony, he died, and his charred corpse was left to be pelted with stones by a rabble.

This compelled Mr. Lovejoy to speak deliberately but boldly in rebuke of this horrid barbarism; and he afterward exposed in his paper the sinfulness and demoralizing influence of slavery. His office was soon attacked by a mob led on by "gentlemen of standing," and his press destroyed. In order to continue his paper he moved across the river into Illinois, a free state, to Alton, twenty miles up the river, and there re-issued the Observer. He believed that there freedom of the press would be protected,

but he soon found the same proslavery malaria in the atmosphere as on the other side of the river, and his office was soon demolished and his press thrown into the Mississippi.

The question now was, shall the Observer be re-established? To give it up was to give up the cause of free speech and free discussion, and accept the government of the mob. A state convention was held to consider this question, and also that of forming a State Antislavery Society. After a long discussion it was decided to form such a society, and also to restore the Observer. Some proposed another editor for pacification, but the reply was that if he did not hold the same position on the right of discussion the principle would be surrendered; and if he did hold it he would share the same hostility. Some urged Mr. Lovejoy to promise not to discuss slavery, but he positively refused. "It would compromise the issue, and he would say what he deemed it his duty to say, answerable only for the abuse of that right. *There he would stand, live or die.*" The true friends of liberty in the state insisted on his retaining his position, and those in Alton agreed to protect him from whatever violence might be attempted. Hear him before a large mass convention, its committee having reported against supporting him:

Scandal and falsehood and calumny have already done their worst. You may hang me up as the mob hung up the individuals at Vicksburg. You may burn me at the stake, as they did McIntosh at St. Louis; or you may throw me into the Mississippi as you have often threatened to do, but you cannot disgrace me. I, and I alone, can disgrace myself; and the deepest of all disgrace would be, at a time like this, to deny my Master by forsaking his cause. He died for me, and

I were most unworthy to bear his name, should I refuse, if need be, to die for him. I am pursued as a felon through your streets, yet think not that I regret the choice I have made. While all around me is violence and tumult, all is peace within. An approving conscience and the rewarding smile of God, is a full recompense for all that I endure. Yes, I enjoy a peace which nothing can destroy. I have counted the cost, and stand prepared freely to offer up my all in the service of God, and here pledge myself to continue this contest to the last. (Forgive these tears, I shed them for others.) I am commanded to forsake father and mother, wife and children, for Jesus' sake, and as his disciple I stand prepared to do it. The time for fulfilling this pledge, in my case, it seems to me, has come. I dare not flee from Alton. Should I attempt it, I should feel that the angel of the Lord with his flaming sword was pursuing me wherever I went. It is because I fear God that I am not afraid of all who oppose me in this city. No, the contest has commenced here, and here it must be finished. Before God and you all, I here pledge myself to continue it, if need be, till death. If I fall, my grave shall be made in Alton.

Rev. Edward Beecher who was present says: "I never was so overcome as at this hour. He made no display. All was native truth, and deep, pure, tender feeling. Even his bitter enemies wept. And I could not doubt that had the authors of the report defended him it would have carried the whole audience with electric power. But no! their whole influence was against him, and a minister led the way." He was censured, assailed with bitter malice, and the meeting closed.

But the infernal spirit of slavery was yet but dimly perceived, and all being quiet, and the mayor promising to protect the press soon to arrive, it was hoped that violence would die away. Mr. Lovejoy and his friends cherished that view if the press could be safely landed and stored. A body of men were enlisted by authority of the mayor to see this

done, and it was stored in the third story of a large stone block in the night, and guarded. But the next night a mob appeared, liquor-qualified for their work, and attempted to break into the building, but were repulsed. Shots were fired both ways and one assailant killed. Then the attempt was made to climb by ladders and set the roof on fire, and Mr. Lovejoy, as one of the guard, went out to fire upon those thus engaged, when he was shot by concealed parties, five balls entering his body. He was able to return into the second story of the building and there died. Those in the building escaped by a back way down the river, and the mob entered, destroyed the press, and retired.

Here this scene closed in this Christian "land of the free and home of the brave"! But another name is entered on the roll of martyrs immortal, who "came out of great tribulation." The right of speech is the right to say what God commands, and to die in defence of this right was a noble heroism, unexceeded in the world's history. And it presented a timely example of Christ's religion before a country dying of moral and religious cowardice, treachery, and obsequiousness to satanic power. There was professed religion enough in Alton to have saved Mr. Lovejoy. A little of it stood by him, and the rest surrendered him to the mob, ministers leading the way. But his death was an earthquake to the country notwithstanding the efforts of slave-holders, northern allies, and a large portion of the church to defeat it by apologies, excuses, and misrepresentations.

The shock was powerful in Maine. The Antislav-

ery Society in Bangor Seminary felt impelled to speak, and appointed me to write an article for the Christian Mirror, which was done, using the awful deed as an illustration of what slavery was, and was doing, and the duty to which it warned. It was published, but criticised by the editor. A reply was sent but rejected. But serious thought was awakened for our country, the cause of freedom was inspired with new energy, and Mr. Lovejoy's death doubtless did far more good than his life could have done however noble. Has the "cry from the ground" of his blood been answered? His heroic death and the honor it received from the Abolitionists and others of the country went far to demonstrate the fact that the policy of intimidation and lawless violence would never put down the antislavery cause. Its supporters were not made of the right material for that.

Early public work done in Piscataquis county was on the fourth of July 1837, at Foxcroft. I had been invited to deliver an address there, with the understanding that it was to be on slavery, the first I ever made on the subject. The meeting was large and attentive. When walking with a good Democratic deacon and others, back to his house to dinner, his head down, thinking, he raised up head and hands and exclaimed, "We're all going to the devil!" From that time he went the other way.

CHAPTER VII.

THIRD ANNIVERSARY. ITS POSITIONS AND ACTION. A PAPER ISSUED. NEW LIFE. AGENTS. LEGISLATURE. AMERICAN ANTISLAVERY SOCIETY. COUNTY SOCIETIES. FIRST OF AUGUST CELEBRATIONS. STATE WORK. SENSATION AT BRUNSWICK. WASHINGTON COUNTY CONFLICT.

THE Third Annual Meeting of the Maine Antislavery Society was held in the Baptist church, Augusta, January 31, 1838, and continued three days. The President, S. M. Pond, was in the chair. James G. Birney, Rev. Orange Scott, Mr. St. Clair, and Ichabod Codding were delegates from abroad. Mr. Birney gave a lecture each evening, and Mr. Scott one each afternoon. Officers elected were S. M. Pond, President; W. Smyth, Corresponding Secretary; Stephen Sewall, Recording Secretary; E. Robinson, Treasurer; Rev. D. Thurston, George Ropes, Rev. Silas Curtis, Executive Committee, with a Vice-president in each county. It was recommended to form county societies in all the state, establish circulating antislavery libraries in every town, and voted to raise, if possible, five thousand dollars, part to be paid to the National Society to which it was auxiliary. Also, that one thousand copies of the Secretary's report and proceedings of the meeting be published and a copy sent to Maine members of Congress and of the Legislature, and that the last Monday of each month be observed as a concert of earnest

prayer for the immediate emancipation of the slaves. The subject of publishing an antislavery paper in the state was introduced for the first time and earnestly discussed. The necessity for it was strongly presented, and that the cause could not go on without it. It was then referred to the State Committee.

A long series of resolutions was adopted: that emancipation was the sacred right of the slaves and immediate duty of the master; that slavery has no approbation or guarantee in the Constitution; that no one who denies the power of Congress over slavery in the District, and the trade between the states, or the right of petition is fit for its membership; that the adoption of our principles is indispensable to free institutions; that the apologies and support of slavery by Christian men of influence in New England has been one of its principal supports; that while we dwell on the disgrace and ruin of slavery on our country, we will not forget the poor slave who is forced to drink this bitterest cup of sorrow; that our Legislature be urged to remonstrate against every scheme for the annexation of Texas, and that the success of past efforts is assurance of the approbation of Heaven, and should inspire new vigor till our country is redeemed. These and other resolutions were discussed with great power by Gen. Fessenden, T. Adams, W. Ladd, S. May, J. Appleton, D. Thurston, S. L. Pomroy, S. Thurston, J. G. Birney, St. Clair, O. Scott, I. Codding. The large meeting was instructed and inspired to still higher duty, regardless of all hostility. Mr. Birney wrote respecting his visit to

Maine: "The impression I received was that much could and would speedily be done there."

The committee at once considered the question of a paper, and March 8, 1838, the "Advocate of Freedom" appeared, edited by Professor Smyth, and printed at Brunswick. It had five columns, was semi-monthly, and fifty cents a year. Mr. Smyth was to have charge of it only until a permanent editor could be obtained, when the paper would be made a weekly. But the artillery of the cause had now come upon the field, and the assault on the Gibralter of Satan's power was still more boldly renewed.

Ichabod Codding of New York was placed in the field as agent. He was a Christian man, intelligent, earnest, with logical powers and excellent address. He did efficient service among the people. C. L. Remond, a colored man of superior ability, labored much and very usefully in Maine. The House of Representatives refused the use of its hall for an evening session of the Annual Meeting, ninety to sixty-six, but it passed a resolution, "That Congress has the right under the Constitution to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and the exercise of this right would not be inconsistent with the good faith and honor of the country," sixty-nine to sixty-two.

Rev. David Thurston reported fifty-four lectures in seven counties, beside attendance on many other meetings. A large delegation was appointed to attend the anniversary of the American Antislavery Society in New York, May 2, 1838. That meeting

was held in Broadway Tabernacle, was large and very able, Arthur Tappan, President. Twelve state societies were reported including Delaware, and seven had state papers. The number of petitions presented in the House of Congress at the last session for abolition in the District, one hundred and thirty thousand two hundred; against Texas annexation, one hundred and eighty-two thousand four hundred; against the gag, thirty-two thousand; no more slave states, twenty-two thousand one hundred and sixty; against interstate slave trade, twenty-three thousand four hundred; abolition in territories, twenty-one thousand two hundred; total four hundred and twelve thousand; and two-thirds as many in the Senate. The publications of the society during the year were six hundred and forty-six thousand five hundred papers, tracts, books, etc. Auxiliary societies, one thousand three hundred and forty-six. Lecturing agents, thirty-eight; three to the free colored people, who had an able paper of their own. That society like all others was thrilled at the murder of Lovejoy.

The formation of county societies in Maine began in Norridgewock, Somerset County, Feb. 23; E. Coburn, Esquire, President; Rev. J. Peet, Secretary; Eusebius Heald, Treasurer; Rev. A. Drinkwater, Rev. D. B. Randall, Rev. G. W. Hathaway, Executive Committee. The next was Lincoln, at Wiscasset, March 13; Col. E. Hilton, President; Rev. A. Caldwell, Secretary; Rev. J. T. Hawes, Rev. S. Fairfield, Amasa Soule, Executive Committee. These, with Rev. Mr. Robinson, Rev. J. Higgins, S. Parsons, and others, were prominent workers. About the same time a

Washington County Society was formed at East Machias, noticed hereafter. York County held a meeting at Alfred, June 20, and organized a County Society, D. Appleton, President; D. H. Lord, Secretary; William Emerson, A. Gilpatrick, P. Libby, Executive Committee. Franklin County held a meeting at Farmington, July 4, and organized; Hiram Belcher, President; J. Titcomb, Secretary; E. Child, Treasurer; J. Chaney junior, J. Cook, I. Rogers, Executive Committee. Kennebec County Society was formed October 16, by a convention at Hallowell. Piscataquis County Society was formed by a convention at Foxcroft, October 30, Rev. A. Clark, President; Rev. L. Bradford, Secretary and Treasurer. Prominent in this were Rev. E. Wells, Dr. M. P. Hanson, Rev. E. W. Cressy, Rev. W. Withee, and others. Cumberland County Antislavery Society was formed in Casco Street church, Portland, February 11, 1835. James Appleton was elected President; William Coe, John Butler, Vice-presidents; William Smyth, Secretary; Nathan Winslow, Treasurer; James Appleton, Samuel Fessenden, John Appleton, George Ropes, David Nutter, William Smyth, Jonas Burnham, J. R. Beane, C. Dillingham, Executive Committee. The cause moved on in proportion as the people were informed. Hostility, insult, hate, and outrage, were the lot of those who dared to plead for justice, but they defied it and worked on. Town societies were also springing up all over the state. The first of August 1838, was celebrated by antislavery meetings in Maine, and extensively in the country; and with great cheers in England as the day of

universal emancipation in the British West Indies. Slavery had ceased in a few islands by act of 1834, but in most it was continued under the "apprenticeship system." But this was so much worse than entire liberation that the slave-holders themselves asked for its repeal which was granted and on that day every slave leaped for joy, a free person. Their peace and good order had a powerful influence in favor of immediate emancipation in this country.

The work in the state was decidedly religious in character, and local religious bodies, not in sight of the ocean, generally supported its principles. The Kennebec Freewill Baptist Yearly Meeting declared it "the solemn duty of the Christian Church to purify itself from the foul blot of slavery," and by prayer and unyielding endeavor seek to convince the people, North and South, of their duty. The Union Conference (Congregational) voted that "Slavery was a wanton violation of the Law of God," and "its immediate abandonment is the imperative duty of the master and right of the slaves." Religious papers in the state were becoming more favorable, the Christian Mirror excepted.

Some events occurred in Brunswick in 1838, which caused a sensation, and explain the times. Rev. C. C. Cone was requested by Rev. Dr. Adams to occupy his pulpit one Sunday forenoon. There was a full audience, including college faculty and students and Governor of the state. The subject was "The Triumph of the Gospel," and he mentioned some of the obstacles that must be removed before it could triumph, including intemperance, Sabbath-breaking,

and slavery. When that last word was heard two wealthy ship-owners and masters were quickly on their way out of the church, and another was prevented from following only by his daughter getting his hat. Others were about to follow, and the Governor said he was only restrained by his dignity. Pausing a little, Mr. Cone calmly remarked, that it was unwise to seek to escape from the truth; they must meet it somewhere, and that they could do it safer then than at the day of final account. He then finished his discourse.

Much excitement followed. Early Monday morning those ship-owners were in the street denouncing that "nigger man Cone." A crowd collected, and when the orator paused a robust man spoke: "Gentlemen, I don't know much about this man you are denouncing so; but one thing I do know, that he is decidedly the smartest minister we have ever had in Brunswick. A man that cast out two devils in one half day is no ordinary man." This raised a shout, turned the current the other way, the worthies hurried home, and that kind of war on abolitionists was there given up. Surrounding churches had been warned against allowing that Cone in their pulpits, and the news of the "terrible affair at Brunswick" reached Bath. The venerable guardian of the Methodist Episcopal church hastened to his minister and said: "Don't you think that that abolitionist Cone was invited to preach in Dr. Adam's church, and drove all the people out preaching about the niggers! Don't let him into your pulpit." But in two years he was invited to preach in that very church on true

abolition as against some wild ideas which were dividing it, and thus saved it. So God takes care of his cause and faithful servants.

Bangor Antislavery Society was organized in 1837, and another in Bangor Theological Seminary, August, 1837, A. Willey, President, and M. Smart, Secretary. Another was formed in Winthrop about July 4, 1837. A society was organized at East Machias in March, 1838, Rev. T. T. Stone, President; Deacon Talbot, Secretary. This called out strong opposition, but its influence was good.

The Washington County Convention was held in the Congregational church in Machias. Peter Thatcher, Esquire, chairman of committee on constitution reported, and after discussion it was signed and the meeting adjourned till evening, when opponents were invited to take part in the discussion. The court was in session, and the meeting was in the Court House, which was filled. Prayer by Rev. Mr. Beckwith. Mr. Cone offered a resolution that, as God had made man in his own image, with reason, conscience, and free will, and thus declared his will in the nature of man, these equal rights and duties are co-extensive with the nature of man. Rev. T. T. Stone ably supported the proposition, when Mr. Chadbourn, a lawyer from Eastport, spoke at some length in a tirade against abolitionists as "fanatics," "incendiaries," etc., who ought to be hung. He believed God had made a difference in natural rights, and that this was necessary to the permanency of our religious and civil institutions. Messrs. Thatcher and

Cone replied and explained abolition. Another lawyer asserted that the slaves were an inferior race, "incapable of progression and made to be where they were." Rev. Mr. Stone annihilated him in five minutes. The opposition called for adjournment to another evening, which was agreed to. The house then was packed to the utmost. Mr. Stone opened the discussion, demolishing with eloquent ability the base structures of the opponents. He was followed by Townsend, Chase, Bradbury, Bridges, and others, but only repeating their denunciation of abolitionists. Cone and Thatcher replied, defending them. A "venerable and learned judge" had carefully considered the whole subject and formed the opinion that the color of the slaves was the mark of Cain, when Mr. Cone asked him to explain how Cain got through the flood. This brought the judge to a stand, who said he had not thought of that and sat down! And the opposition finding their resources exhausted could only fall back upon the logic of mobs, hissing and stamping, so that no one could speak. Townsend offered this resolution, which was adopted by a large majority: "That it is unconstitutional and inexpedient to form societies in non-slave-holding states for the immediate abolition of slavery in slave-holding states." The meeting soon closed in triumph, but it was an illustration of the alarming apostacy and degradation to which slavery, by political discipline had reduced the country. But the friends of freedom, by previous agreement, met the next day in the church, completed their business, and

adopted a series of able resolutions, the substance of which was, the first already stated:

That as God is unchangeable, his laws must be so also; that the sacred Scriptures are designed to give all men their equal rights, and bring them to the exercise of the duties implied; that these truths form the basis of our civil institutions; that it is a Constitutional right to proclaim these truths everywhere, a nd show that slavery is a flagrant violation of them, a sin against God and man, and therefore ought to be immediately abolished; that with these principles as the ground of action, we solemnly promise before God and man that through evil or good report, approved of man or treated with ridicule, contempt, and persecution, living or dying, by the help of God, we will adhere to these truths already sealed with the noblest blood; that the action of Congress on slavery, with the adoption of Patton's resolution, is a base and cowardly attack on the principles of liberty, and disgraceful to all who sanction it by vote or otherwise; that the wonderful success of our principles in Europe and America indicates divine approbation and should inspire our faith and zeal; that the recent discussion has strengthened our confidence in our principles and their early success.

CHAPTER VIII.

FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING. THE ADVOCATE OF FREEDOM. EDITOR. EARLY WORK IN WALDO COUNTY. RELIGIOUS UNFAITHFULNESS. ITS EFFECTS. REV. L. WISWALL. RECOLLECTIONS OF REV. D. B. RANDALL, A. A. BARKER, I. C. WELLCOME.

THE Fourth Annual Meeting of the Maine Anti-slavery Society was held in the Baptist church, Augusta, February 7, 1839. President in the chair. Prayer by Rev. G. F. Cox. Business committee, I. Codding, D. Thurston, S. L. Pomroy, Gen. Fessenden, S. Thurston, J. C. Lovejoy, Elder Hutchins, Professor Shepard. Rev. Mr. St. Clair, of Massachusetts, was present. The roll of delegates counted two hundred and seventy, from five counties and thirty-three towns, bad as the traveling was. It continued two days, and was regarded as the most valuable meeting the society had ever held. Professor Smyth read his report, which held the audience in fixed attention two hours. It was ordered printed in pamphlet, one thousand to five thousand copies, and money was collected to pay. Beside this two hundred dollars were collected. The officers elected were S. M. Pond, President; William Smyth, Corresponding Secretary; Stephen Sewall, Recording Secretary; Elisha Robinson, Treasurer; A. D. Rice, Auditor; with a Vice-president in each county. Executive Committee, D. Thurston, J. C. Lovejoy, E. Southwick, S. K. Gilman, Gen. Appleton. The leading subjects were: the absolute importance of more com-

plete organization of every county and town in the state; of establishing depositories of antislavery literature in Portland, Augusta, and Bangor, and employing a book agent to establish a library in every town. These measures were adopted. Much time was given to the paper as of supreme importance. Professor Smyth could not longer have charge of it because of other duties, and it was necessary to make it a weekly. This would require support and an editor's whole time. It was resolutely undertaken and put in charge of the committee. On Mr. May's motion twenty-seven volumes of the life of Elijah P. Lovejoy were ordered, one for each state library and one for the national library. One resolution denounced the Atherton gag and the "pitiful servility of northern representatives." Another asserted "the imperious duty of every abolitionist to vote for some man, who, if elected, will use his utmost constitutional powers for the immediate overthrow of slavery." Mr. St. Clair made an evening address on "Our Principles and Our Measures." Among those who took a prominent part in this meeting including those already named were W. A. Crocker, Rev. Wooster Parker, W. R. Prescott, Rev. M. Trafton, Rev. J. T. Hawes, Rev. C. C. Cone, Rev. William Warren, C. L. Remond, Rev. Mr. Waterman, Rev. L. Wiswall, Rev. G. W. Hathaway, Rev. D. B. Randall, Rev. Mr. Caldwell, Rev. O. B. Cheney, Rev. D. D. Tappan, Mr. Hanson, Joseph Ropes. In no other year had the cause advanced as in the past, and the resolute purpose was to still advance.

The resolution respecting voting indicates the pro-

gress of thought, and the constitution of the society was altered in limiting action to moral measures only. Experience had already taught the lesson that petitions were worthless against strong resisting forces unless backed by the ballot, and the policy began to be urged of voting only for candidates who would promise well. The results will be seen. A letter from the society in Topsham indicated the progress going on among the people. It had been formed but one year and had sixty-four members. The Baptist, Freewill Baptist, and Congregational ministers were warm friends. The quarterly subscription for the cause was twenty-eight dollars and sixty-two cents, and but little opposition then existed. "The murder of the noble Lovejoy contributed much to arouse the citizens from their slumbers over the abominations of our Republican slavery. Our cause is onward."

Stephen Sewall of Winthrop was a man of positive Christian character, intelligence, and generosity, and a first volunteer for liberty. He had property and it went with his heart for the slaves till they were slaves no more. In subsequent life he engaged in the war on the *tobacco curse* by circulating tracts in the state and country, writing and publishing many valuable ones himself. Faithful!

In 1839 I took the editorship of the Advocate of Freedom at the urgent request of Rev. D. Thurston in behalf of the State Committee. I had graduated at Bangor Seminary, but continued to study there, and received invitations to important fields in the ministry. But while in the Seminary the solid arguments in support of the antislavery cause were placed



very respectfully yours
Stephen Swale





in my hands by a woman. They were unanswerable. Such mighty truths must not be sacrificed to any man's errors. God had risen to take off the chains from those pleading millions and rescue the nation, but awaited human agency. I finally consented to defer awhile at least my intended profession, and took my place by the side of the slaves. The paper was first moved to Augusta and soon to Hallowell.

Rev. L. Wiswall, a faithful minister and defender of the oppressed gives valuable facts showing how great truth took root among the people, the fountain-head of power. He says the first defence of slavery as a blessing which he ever heard was about 1830 by a professor in a southern college. "It protected the chastity of white women!" He says:

I entered Bangor Seminary in 1834 with no definite convictions on the subject, but was extremely dissatisfied in reading such religious papers as the Puritan Recorder, Boston, New York Observer and Christian Mirror, for their proslavery positions; not that they openly justified slavery in the abstract, but spent their strength in opposing all antislavery efforts. They were published at centers of trade. . . . In 1836, Rev. S. Thurston was invited to deliver an address by a literary society at the Seminary anniversary at Bangor. He dwelt on slavery, which deeply offended some; but I think a majority of students took his part.

I was settled with the churches in Brooks and Jackson. Packages of antislavery tracts were sent to me which I read and distributed. In 1837, I invited Rev. S. Thurston to give us a lecture in Brooks, which was well received, and a society was formed of members of both political parties. I lectured on the subject in the neighboring towns of Monroe and Thorndike, showing the inherent wrong of slave-holding and left it to ferment. In Brooks twenty-five subscribers were obtained for the Advocate of Freedom, published at Brunswick by Professor Smyth; but when Mr. Willey in 1840 supported Mr. Birney every one but mine was stopped. My old deacon called at my house on election day and insisted on my voting for Harrison,

but I declined, and he was angry and never got over it until Webster made his seventh of March speech in support of the fugitive slave law. The old deacon fairly cried, for Webster was his trust. He soon subscribed for the paper.

The result of that election in bringing Tyler, the slave-holder, into the presidency, by the speedy death of Harrison, was a stunning blow to the Whigs. Several intelligent, smart young men in Brooks were ashamed, and among them the late Judge Woodbury Davis, his elder brother, and others. They went into the Liberty Party with a will, and held political meetings in other towns. Montville, in another part of the county, was another center of antislavery influence. The county was intensely, perhaps three-fourths, Democratic, but I think that was the first district in the state which sent an antislavery representative, Rev. Mr. Knowlton, to Congress.

Congregational churches in that county, mine excepted, were in commercial towns on the coast or river. Rev. S. Thurston was an earnest antislavery man; also Silas McKeen, of Belfast, who wrote very ably in defence of the Bible against proslavery perversion, showing especially that the law of Moses recognized no such thing as chattel slavery. Rev. Nathaniel Chapman, of Camden, was a quiet antislavery man. But my impression is that the leading influences of these churches was against the cause. One of Mr. McKeen's successors treated it contemptuously until the tide turned.

During all these years the influence of the American Board and of the American Tract Society was arrayed against us. The Tract Society would not publish any tract that had the least flavor of antislavery sentiment; and while they republished many of the old religious books of English Puritans, they carefully expurgated every antislavery sentiment. It was understood among us that no minister who was dissatisfied with the course of the American Board in tolerating slavery in their Indian missions, could expect to be called to any important church.

Our religious paper (the Mirror) gave the impression that the antislavery ministers in Maine were in sympathy with Mr. Garrison in the infidelity to which he was driven by religious persecution. I suffered from this misrepresentation, and coming to Cumberland County in 1853, I was evidently looked askance upon as a possible abolition disturber. There was another sad result of this false attack by the Mirror and other religious papers. It led antislavery people to assume that orthodox religion approved of slavery, and this tended to relieve conscience of its personal claims, and gave boldness to



Luther Wiswall



skepticism. I was personally acquainted with some of this class, and have no doubt there were hundreds in this state who were turned away by this influence. I was glad to notice in after years that the towns in which I had started the abolition movement, were the first in the county to give majorities of abolition votes.

No word for the right was ever lost. Rev. D. B. Randall was one of the earliest and most laborious friends of the slaves in Maine, and his labors contributed much to the success of the cause. While located in New Sharon he did much in turning it from a Whig town to liberty. He gives a few recollections.

I was on a committee that addressed questions to Mr. Kent, the Whig candidate for governor, in 1840, respecting his views on slavery, and his favorable answer gave him the abolition vote and elected him. I cast the only vote in Readfield for Birney in 1840.

You know that the arguments of our opponents were brickbats, clubs, and rotten eggs. I had a little persecution and was kept out of position by the authorities of the Methodist church because I was an abolitionist; but Brothers Cone, Asbury, Caldwell, and myself completely changed the views of the Maine Conference, so that upon a square fight in 1839 we elected our entire delegation of abolitionists to General Conference in Baltimore in 1840. I became entirely identified with the cause in 1833, and lectured a great deal against slavery. But the end is not distant when you and I shall have still clearer demonstration, that the principles for which we fought and suffered were the true principles of humanity and of God.

Mr. A. A. Barker was a fearless, self-sacrificing laborer for the holy cause, and contributes interesting facts.

Do you not recollect the time when we had an antislavery meeting at Bridgton Center, and Rev. Joseph Fessenden was speaking, when a mob came in with drums and musical instruments, drove him from the stand and broke up the meeting? Was you not at the meeting in New Sharon, where good father Hawes preached, and the old church not being large enough he took us to the new church, against the protest of his Democratic deacons and church members? And when

they told him he could not be supported as pastor if he did so, he replied: "I used to cut hoop-poles for a living when I was a young man, and if I cannot get a living by preaching I will go at it again."

You of course remember our good Dr. Pease of Bridgton. He and I used to work in concert. They used to fasten up the school-houses and churches against us, and I would open them and have meetings and make converts. I left home at one time and went into an adjoining township to speak on the slavery question, and some of the pro-slaveryites said that if I did so I would not leave the town alive. I told them that if I was not permitted to leave the town alive I would leave it dead. They fastened up the door of the school-house and town-house, but I opened the door of the town-house and notified the whole community that I should speak there that evening. They came out and filled the house. Some of them determined on a row, and After I counsel prevailed and I had a good meeting, gave away and made converts.

poor fugitives, sometimes [illegible] did the same thing, helped away the ened, but it made no difference. I [illegible]ued, my life and liberty threat- liquor all my life at great sacrifice, and an[illegible]battled with slavery and perance cause and intend to as long as I live. [illegible]g hard in the tem-

Mr. I. C. Wellcome contributes some va[illegible]uable history of the sowing and growing of the seed [illegible]of truth in those days in the northern interior of the [illegible]state, where proslavery democracy was rampant. He [illegible]says:

My father was a pronounced Democrat, and I knew nothi[illegible]ng of slavery except through channels of that party, which were in full [illegible]ympathy with it. Rum was plenty in 1838, and, when twenty yea[illegible]s of of age, I began to see that democracy, rum, and slavery had st[illegible]rong affinities, and, as a rule, to touch one was to touch all three. I [illegible]was converted to Christ and, though with dim intelligence, I quickly b[illegible]egan to perceive the sin of slavery to be enormous, although my father [illegible]and friends tried to show me that it was all right, and I must "vote [illegible]for the party, and not meddle with the property of slave-owners." But [illegible] soon got access to the writings of Garrison, Foster, Phillips, Mrs. Child, and others, and I was fully ready to be called a "nigger man," an "abolitionist."

I signed a call to Elder D. B. Randall in the southern part of the state, to come to New Portland and deliver a lecture on slavery in

the Union Meeting House, in which I owned a share. It was the first lecture ever heard on that subject by most of us, perhaps the first in the county. The people came together much as they would to a general muster to see what was to be seen and heard, but with many angry words because such a lecture was allowed in the community. Many stayed outside and made what tumult they could. The lecture was clear and convincing that slavery was what John Wesley called it "the sum of all villainies." A negro driver's whip was exhibited, and we were told how such whips were used on the bare backs and legs of colored men and women. That evening's work was the real beginning of antislavery work in that part of the state. Many who had ignorantly defended slavery were ashamed to do so ever after. My father was persuaded to attend that lecture, and, though a strong man, his tears flowed freely, and he was cured of advocating slavery. But it worked contention and strife in the churches, for ministers and members were as strong political partisans as other men, and cared more for their party than for their fellows in bondage, or for Christ and his religion. Those were days that tried men's souls, and in the strife men were driven to give up the Bible and become infidels because Christian men claimed that the Bible and Christianity sustained American slavery. But the "spirit of freedom" became more and more active and effective in the churches, and the proslavery element could not quiet it. Soon the unanswerable argument of Mr. Birney appeared, "The Church the Bulwark of American Slavery," and it had great power upon the Christian mind.

Mr. Willey had now taken the editorship of the antislavery paper, which was an important auxiliary in the great work. The Church and the world felt and denounced it, and belied and defamed its editor. Such has been the experience of all pioneer reformers. That paper did great service in enlightening the people and working reform among its enemies. I am glad he is preparing this important history, for no one is better qualified to do it justice.

So by the firm fidelity and zeal of the friends of liberty in enlightening the people in behalf of oppressed millions the great upheaval moved steadily on, by the Omnipotence that "came to set at liberty them that are bruised." Truth was permeating

society more or less all over the state, and encountering intense resistance.

The grand, Christian, humane, and patriotic enterprise of the abolitionists, — a reform without precedent in American history, — was now organized and in the field of fierce conflict. It was nothing less than a thorough revolution of the state, morally, religiously, and politically. Cherished ideas and prejudices were to be dissipated; religion was to be expanded into universal brotherhood to care for those who had "fallen among thieves," and embrace "every creature" in its mission; to persuade the people to "remember those in bonds as bound with them"; to rescue the state from abject service of the meanest, cruelest despotism that ever existed, extinguish its political organizations, reconstruct and lift it up to the Old Declaration, and to Constitutional Liberty. It might look like the work of the "Six Quakers" in England, but where was a nobler endeavor? And while "righteousness exalts" a state, this reform will honor the history of Maine. The sublime design had its origin in the best Christian intelligence of the state.

The cause in all its departments was kept on a moral basis instead of policy, and people instructed thus to their duty. It might take longer but it would *stand.* Experience, however, proved that it was the shortest road. The truth, the whole truth, was to be told so far as language made it posssible, without exaggeration or suppression, and told to be *felt.* No shadow of compromising our principles was to be listened to. Our work was kept mainly with the mass

of the people, and away from the centers of counter influences. Here was the glorious object, and the methods by which it was certain to be attained if we were faithful, for God had so pledged; but when and how, were none of our business. Slavery must fall!

All the other free states were moving with the same grand aim, the South was raging with fear, and the conflicts in Congress kept the subject alive in the nation's mind. It was probably the last contest of our fearfully corrupted country with the gigantic, infernal slave power; and had our position been one of fractional, "underground" expediency, that haughty tyranny would have defied it as ever before with contempt. But this arraignment on an "immediate" death-warrant by authority of the Almighty, and prosecuted with fearless, unyielding determination,—here was our strength and victory. This alone unchained the slaves and saved the nation. But the fierce long contest must go on to prepare the country for Gettysburg.

CHAPTER IX.

SLAVERY VICTORIOUS IN CONGRESS. RIGHT OF PETITION. ATHERTON GAG. SLAVE MARCH AROUND THE CAPITOL. HENRY CLAY. PROGRESS OF LIBERTY. ANTISLAVERY DIVISION AND SEPARATION. POSITION OF RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS IN MAINE.

IN 1836 Michigan and Arkansas applied for admission into the Union, one a free the other a slave state. The constitution of Arkansas provided that the legislature should have no power to pass laws for the emancipation of slaves without the consent of the owners, or prevent bringing slaves into the state. The two bills yoked together like Maine and Missouri, passed the Senate at once, but not so in the House. There objection was made to the provision restricting the power to emancipate, but the slave power triumphed through party control, and the guilty bill passed.

Another victory was gained by giving to Missouri and to slavery a region of free territory, lying between the compromise line and the Missouri river, as large as the state of Rhode Island. It had just been ceded to the Indians, but now by villainy taken from them and they driven elsewhere. This conduct at Washington increased the national agitation, and revealed to the people more and more that slavery, through partyism, was dragging our country to ruin.

The fight on the right of petition was rekindled by Mr. Adams presenting petitions from those who called themselves slaves, for abolition in the District.

A vote of censure was moved, and during three days the excitement was kept up and invective poured upon him. But he remained undisturbed; and when the storm subsided he rose in calm dignity, regardless of threats, and defended his course, affirming that God gave the right of petition to every human being. "It was the right of prayer." He "appealed to the House and to the nation." Northern men gathered round him for protection and defended him, among whom were George Evans, of Maine, and Mr. Slade, of Vermont. The motion for censure was laid on the table by thirteen majority. Southern members withdrew for consultation, and the House adjourned. They agreed on a resolution, — that all petitions or papers on slavery in states or territories be laid on the table unread, with no action on them. Adopted, one hundred and thirty-five to sixty.

In 1838, the slave-holders and their allies began to perceive that detraction, mobs and riots, and appeals for northern legislation against abolition, were not putting it down. Mr. Calhoun introduced some resolutions not denying the power of Congress to abolish slavery in the District and territories, but that "it was a direct and dangerous attack on the institutions of all the slave-holding states." Debate and amendments followed, and Mr. Clay offered some resolutions. At the opening of the next session another political plan was tried. The Democratic party held a caucus and defined its position by resolutions similar to those previously adopted by southern members, and Atherton of New Hampshire was the tool to offer them, known afterward as the "Atherton gag."

They were adopted, one hundred and thirty-six to seventy-three. Mr. Pierce, of New Hampshire, afterward President, now made a significant statement which had its lessons to all. He said "there were indications in New England of a change in public sentiment which he feared. Politics were beginning to mingle with the question of slavery. The abolitionists were making it a test."

There now occurred a scene in Washington terribly representative of our national life—its infamy and its guilt. A slave-holder on horseback, armed with pistols and plantation lash, marched by the Capitol with thirty men in double file, each fastened by the wrist to a long chain between the lines. Women followed in the same order, but without chains. There was a specimen of our politics and our religion, "and they were not at all ashamed." Mr. Slade of Vermont moved for a committee to report how such scenes could be prevented, but the Speaker said the rules forbid it.

Henry Clay, the leader of the Whig party and aspirant for the presidency, the "compromiser," in 1839 offered a petition from people in the District, asking Congress to repress all agitation respecting slavery and slave-trade in the District. Professing intense love of liberty, he denied that Congress had the right to prohibit the trade between the states, and emphatically declared that "that is property which the law declares to be property," and that "two hundred years of legislation have sanctioned and sanctified negro slaves as property." This was a heavy blow to the Whigs at the North, who saw that they

must at least be "the more favorable party" or their hopes be dim, such impression had abolition made on the public mind. It was necessary at the South.

The great cause was moving steadily forward notwithstanding all opposition. National and state societies had increased their membership to some two hundred thousand, and continued their activity and unfaltering fidelity to their principles. By no hostility could they be made to compromise; and by the resistless power of intelligence and truth upon the people, society was slowly yielding to its demands. The ablest men were in the field, papers were increasing, legislatures and religious bodies beginning to speak for liberty, and antislavery literature was spreading over the land.

In 1838–9, a division arose in the antislavery ranks which was deeply deplored; but as Maine took no part in the contest, only a brief notice of it will be made. The most prominent subject on which division arose was that of the ballot. The National and Massachusetts Societies, and probably all others, had recognized the importance of law against slavery, and pledged the political power of its members to that object. But the supreme pioneer work was to show the people what slavery was to the slaves, to the country, and to Christianity, to banish forever all the old theories of gradualism under which it had grown to gigantic power, and establish the principle of immediate emancipation as the only remedy, and as the command of God. Here the conflict centered for several years.

The progress of the cause, petitioning for legisla-

tion, and the effects, especially in Congress, had already turned attention to the ballot. Both political parties were bound to the slave power, and the policy first tried was questioning candidates, and voting for those who answered favorably. But this was soon found worthless, and as a rule "the candidate would be what his party was." This led to separate nominations especially in New York, and thought and action in other states was tending in the same direction. Mr. Garrison strongly resisted this political tendency, and a majority in the American and Massachusetts societies opposed it. They denied that they had any right to insist on a man's voting at all, and no more to do with his political than his church relations. There was also a portion of this party who were non-resistants, and held it wrong to vote at all, for government rested on force. They were for no government. There was also another element of discord. The "woman question" was forced by this party upon the cause, which at that time was very disastrous, whatever its merits. It was no part of the antislavery reform, the supporters of that reform were divided respecting it, and public sentiment was very strong against it. The serious injury which its adoption must bring upon the cause of the slaves was obvious. Mr. Garrison in his Liberator, repelled by intense hostility and persecution by Christian men and ministers, held such attitude toward religion and the church as to afford the enemies of the antislavery cause opportunity to assail it. He and his followers also held a fatal position on government and the constitution. Accepting the current pro-slavery con-

struction by which the government had long been administered as the true one, he denounced it as "a covenant with death," in which no man could take any share even by voting. This was anarchy.

Such were the elements of antagonism which arose, and which the slave power and its allies gladly seized for their defence. It was a sad event indeed in the life of such a glorious cause, and regretted by the great body of abolitionists. But the division was obviously irreconcilable, and, not disheartened, secession took place. A new national society, the American and Foreign Antislavery Society, was formed in New York, May 12, 1839. Arthur Tappan was chosen President; J. G. Birney and H. B. Stanton, Secretaries; and Lewis Tappan, Treasurer. Rev. David Thurston was chairman of a committee to form a constitution. A large Executive Committee was appointed: the Tappans, Mr. Birney, Mr. Stanton, William Jackson, Whittier, Gerrit Smith, Judge Jay, Joshua Leavitt, Thomas Morris, W. H. Brisbane, Edward Beecher, and many more, representing the leading ability of the cause. They laid their case before the country, and although it was answered, the antislavery sentiment turned to the new organizations, and the old declined and finally disappeared. None of its peculiar features were left long upon the cause, which moved on to power, scarcely retarded by this revolution, for both parties wisely avoided controversy between themselves. New papers were established in Boston and New York, and nearly every antislavery paper in the states, except at those places, soon co-

operated with the new movement, which was really the original restored.

But the determined enemies of the cause, especially the religious, persisted in hostility, still charging it with those repudiated features as their justification. Even as late as 1884 Professor Austin Phelps, D. D. of Andover, Mass., revives this old excuse in the Congregationalist for the defence of the "New England Clergy" in opposing the antislavery cause. He charges those characteristics upon the whole movement; says abolitionists were "destructives" like the "Jacobins of France," and "Nihilists of Russia," etc. It was supposed that this old falsehood and slander would not be raised from the dead after nearly half a century, even by an apologist of slavery from the Bible. It will not relieve his class in history.

Mr. Garrison had done a noble work, and will ever have the just honors of history. Evidently the mission Providence had assigned him was to "*Blow the trumpet;* cry *aloud* and *spare not;* show my people their sins" respecting slavery. And a trumpet was given him of such piercing blast as to stir "dry bones" to sensibility as proved by the outcry of "severe language." It was what he was made for, and anything less would have been useless. But his subsequent serious errors were no cover for the sin of others in resisting the cries of bleeding humanity, and of a dying nation. The principal strength of the party of Mr. Garrison and his supporters was in Massachusetts, but reached neither Maine, the Middle States, nor the West.

Religious bodies in Maine had begun to consider and take action on the abolition cause. The Freewill Baptists were distinguished on this subject. They not only took a decided, early position against slavery in their public meetings, but as a denomination, with nearly all its ministers and membership, enlisted in the cause with fidelity. And not only in that state, but in the country, although at a large sacrifice of strength at the South. Its paper, The Morning Star, early took this unequivocal position, and the denomination stood by it through the conflict. Rev. Silas Curtis, one of their leading men, tells how they began in Maine. He says:

The first action taken was by the Farmington Yearly Meeting held in Phillips, August 25, 1837, although many had already become deeply interested in the cause, had preached, prayed, and labored against the "sum of all villainies," and openly espoused the cause of abolition. Brother John Chaney and I agreed that the subject should be discussed at that meeting and he was to present resolutions. He did so and spoke three-fourths of an hour, and I followed. They were warmly opposed by Brother Whitney, a wealthy influential member and Democrat. The resolution passed, and the next week he withdrew from the church and denomination. Oh, the blinding, soul-withering influence of party politics! When will Christians act on principle and be consistent?

From this time the work of agitation of "the peculiar institution" went on among our people in Maine. There was much and bitter opposition, largely by Democrats, who called us "political preachers," "long-heels," "nigger-men," etc. But the glorious cause of abolition was on the advance in the state notwithstanding all the opposition it met. I was determined to do my duty and speak loud and long against intemperance, oppression, and other public as well as individual sins, whether in so doing I made friends or foes.

Rev. D. Waterman a prominent Freewill Baptist minister says:

A leading Democrat in Phillips sent word to me there that he was

ready to discuss the question "Does the Bible justify American Slavery," he taking the affirmative. A public meeting was arranged and discussion held. It was clearly shown that Hebrew law was for the protection of servants, and would set every American slave free. The challenger admitted that there was but one side to the question.

The principal means employed were the pulpit, lectures, public meetings, and the press. Among the Freewill Baptist laborers were their prominent ministers: Revs. John Chaney, Silas Curtis, B. D. Peck, P. Weaver, John Stevens, O. B. Cheney, and many others. Slavery was discussed as a political, financial, national evil, and an outrageous wrong, a terrible national sin which must be repented of or it would call down the wrath of the Almighty upon a guilty people.

The cause of freedom took early and strong hold in the Congregational denomination in the state and enlisted a class of ministers whose ability and influence were second to none, such as the Thurstons, Tappan, Shepard, Pomeroy, Lovejoy, Hathaway, Stone, Hawes, Adams, and many others. And there was also a strong, tenacious opposition with the Christian Mirror in its support. It happened to be located largely along the sea-coast, and at commercial centers, and in most cases while professing to be opposed to slavery, it was far more opposed to its abolition.

The General Conference of Maine, in 1834, passed the following resolution, introduced and advocated by Rev. David Thurston, "That it is the duty of Christians to sympathize with the enslaved of our race, and to pray that involuntary servitude may come to an end as soon as may be throughout the world."

In 1835 it asserted that "slavery was a sin against God and man"; that the North as well as the South was implicated in its guilt; that there was a great

need of solemn prayer and confession, and that a time be set apart that day for this purpose, which was done. It also urged still greater efforts for petitions to Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. In 1836 it passed the following resolution: "That slave-holding as it exists in a portion of these United States is a great sin against God and man, for which the nation ought to humble itself, and for the speedy and entire removal of which every Christian ought to pray and use all suitable means within his reach."

Respecting the Christian Mirror, Elijah P. Lovejoy, a short time before his martyrdom, wrote in reply to an article in the Mirror, as follows:

> It has been and still is a source of great grief to witness the course which you, Brother Cummings, have pursued on the subject of slavery I tell you plainly that you seem to me not at all to have understood your responsibilities in relation to the subject of slavery, or else to have trifled with them in a manner truly awful. I have seen the Mirror once and again give the subject the go-by with a dry joke or a half concealed sarcasm, which none understand better how to use than he. As I have seen these things I have asked myself, how long, Oh! how long, shall these mistaken brothers continue to abuse their influence, pervert the truth, and retard the salvation of the slaves!

It is matter of regret that so little has been obtained on the early action of the Baptists of the state respecting the cause of the slaves. They had strong and fearless men engaged in it who are now gone. Their religious bodies spoke as decisively as others, and had to encounter opposition within themselves and without as well as others. We find that the Hancock Association in 1837 resolved, "That we, as the pro-

fessed followers of Jesus Christ, have no fellowship or communion with those who, under the character of Christians, continue to hold their fellow-men in bondage." And the Washington Association the same year resolved, "That as Christians we can have no fellowship with those who, after being duly enlightened on the subject, still advocate and practice its abominations, and thus defile the Church of God."

The Methodists had a severer conflict than any other denomination because of their ecclesiastical relations with slave-holders. Rev. C. C. Cone was one of the very first "agitators" in that church, and to his bold, faithful, and self-sacrificing labors both church and the state are largely indebted; and not on this subject alone. He gives information of great value to history respecting abolition in that church in early days.

As early as 1834–5, and for a long time after, the Christian Advocate, the Bishops of the church, and all the chief ministers from the highest to the lowest, were arrayed against abolitionism. They were unsparing in their denunciations, and in the exercise of what authority they had. At each Annual Conference in the state, a delegation would come from New York to suppress the hated thing called abolitionism. *Doctors* of Divinity would administer their opiates; and when these failed to effect a cure, the bull of excommunication would show his head, for the church must be saved from the awful results of the fanaticism and madness of abolition. But all their opiates, their threats, and bulls availed nothing. Abolition would n't down, but continued to make "alarming" progress, so that in 1838 a Conference Antislavery Society was formed, composed of a majority of the members of the Conference.

Such had been the rapid progress of the cause, that at this time the presiding elder and chief ministers became alarmed and concluded that some measures must be adopted to arrest the dangerous heresy and save the church from ruin. So the Conference of 1838



Affectionately Yours
C. C. Coon

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appointed a Committee of Safety, Rev. G. F. Cox, chairman, who reported a "Pacification Bill," and a rollcall for a yea and nay vote without debate was ordered. And, strange to say, ninety-one voted yea, — two-thirds confessed abolitionists, — C. C. Cone, J. C. Aspenwall, A. Hatch, C. C. Munger, and H. W. Latham, nay. There was great joy and it was published that "abolitionism was dead in the Maine Conference." This was soon seen to be the design and all the abolitionists, with many more, deserted the plot. The holy fire broke out anew and with increased power, so that the Maine Conference was given up as lost to the slave power in the church. A fact will indicate the progress. At the end of the first year of my ministry in Maine I was removed, although the church petitioned for my return, for the avowed purpose of punishing me for my abolitionism, and placing me where there was nothing but proslaveryism.

In 1780 the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church declared "slavery to be contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature — contrary to the dictates of conscience and true religion." In 1837 that Conference declared "that they are decidedly opposed to modern abolitionism, and wholly disclaim any right, wish, or intention to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave as it exists in the slave-holding states of this Union." And they passed a vote of censure of two members for lecturing on the subject. Here is a fair illustration of the awful religious apostasy to which slavery had led this land, and the amazing Divine forbearance.

President Blanchard of Knox College, Illinois, said:

By calculation based upon the United States census and statistics of religious bodies, it is estimated that Methodists in the United States own two hundred and nineteen thousand five hundred and fifty slaves; Presbyterians, seventy-seven thousand; Baptists, one hundred and fifteen thousand; Campbellites, one hundred and one thousand; Episcopalians, eighty-eight thousand; other Protestants, fifty thousand; total six hundred and fifty thousand, five hundred and fifty

human beings owned as property by ministers and members of Protestant churches in the United States! At four hundred dollars each (a low estimate) the amount would be two hundred and sixty million, two hundred and twenty thousand dollars capital invested by the Christian church in the bodies and souls of men! While zealously reiterating the command to "preach the gospel to *every creature*," these with four times as many more immortals were held as not included in "every creature," and repudiated from the race for which Christ died! And Congregational churches stood upon the same moral level though not extending to slave states. "Be astonished, O heavens, at this!"

With such a religion, where must our country have landed had not a persistent fire-alarm awakened it, perhaps at the last hour? And was it strange that many were repelled by it to infidelity, and others to uncharitable execration? But the strangest and guiltiest of all was, that this alleged uncharitableness was made an excuse for persistence in their bitter hostility to such a cause! Such sowing will have a reaping.

CHAPTER X.

MAINE LEGISLATURE. MR. CODDING AT CALAIS. THE GREAT DEBATE. THE REV. DAVID THURSTON. RELIGIOUS BODIES. COUNTY ACTION. FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING. A NEW PARTY DEMANDED. CHEERING PROGRESS. THE GAG RESTORED IN CONGRESS. MAINE VOTE. LIBERTY IN ENGLISH AND FRENCH WEST INDIES.

BUT the cries of two millions of our countrymen under the driver's lash are reaching the ears of the people in spite of all inventions to conceal them, and even civil society begins to reveal it. The House of Representatives of Maine in 1838 passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the continuance of slavery within the sacred enclosure and chosen seat of the National Government, is inconsistent with a due regard to the enlightened judgment of mankind, and with all just pretensions on our part to the character of a free people, and is adapted to bring into contempt republican liberty, and render its influence powerless throughout the world.

Resolved, That the legislature of the state of Maine, on behalf of the people of said state, do earnestly and solemnly protest against the annexation of the republic of Texas to these United States; and that our senators and representatives in Congress be, and they hereby are, requested to exert their utmost influence to prevent the adoption of a measure at once so clearly unconstitutional, and so directly calculated to disturb our foreign relations, to destroy our domestic peace, and to dismember our precious Union.

These passed the House eighty-five to thirty; defeated in the Senate the same day eleven to ten. The state thus so nearly adopted these great anti-slavery issues, Van Buren's administration barely defeating them in the Senate.

An antislavery society was formed this year in Phipsburg, George Rogers, President; F. Bowker, Secretary; J. Lombard junior, Treasurer. In a few months there were more than a hundred members. In Cumberland, monthly antislavery meetings were established for the winter of 1838–9, but the interest was so great that they were held much oftener as antislavery conference and prayer-meetings. Powerful addresses by General Fessenden and others were obtained.

In August Mr. Codding went to Calais to lecture, but neither church, town hall, nor school-house could be obtained, and he could only get a small private hall. Church members said: "This fellow ought to be ridden out of town on a rail." Ministers and lawyers combined against him. He lectured three evenings to increasing audiences in the hall, and Sunday evening in the large Baptist church in the upper village to a full house and attentive audience, and notice was given of another meeting there Monday evening. Truth was now taking hold of the people and its enemies saw something must be done. The next morning there was consultation and agreement to notify a meeting that evening at the same place, half an hour before Mr. Codding's time, to consider the question of allowing him to proceed with his lectures. The day was spent in rallying and a large crowd assembled. Gen. Hastings was called to the chair, and J. Q. Kettelle, Secretary. Mr. Codding was invited to participate in the meeting and adjourn his own, which he refused to do, but was ready to meet them in fair discussion. Mr. Chase, a

lawyer, offered a series of resolutions: that slavery was an evil in the abstract, but we had nothing to do with it; that agitation disturbed the South and endangered the Union; that abolitionists had no right to do it; that they were enemies to the republic; that it was a duty to use all lawful means to stop them, etc. He then made a speech in favor of closing all public houses against them, staying at home, and persuading others to give them no countenance. He then urged the whole audience to adjourn and go home. Rev. Mr. Huckins, whose church they occupied, spoke of "the farce and buffoonery of the evening before, and that Mr. Codding owed him an apology for desecrating his house."

The time for Mr. Codding's meeting had arrived and Mr. Bradbury, another lawyer, with Mr. Huckins, did their best to make a general rush out of the house, and meet the next evening when Mr. Codding would be invited to take part in a discussion. But a good audience remained, and Mr. Codding spoke effectively an hour and a half. Tuesday evening the debate began with a crowded house, and continued so till Friday when Bradbury offered a compromise resolution as a substitute for the others, perceiving doubtless that they would not be adopted. Codding opposed, but was howled down with attempts to intimidate him. At last the brawlers were quieted and a vote taken, which proslavery tellers reported, yeas, sixty-eight, nays, eighty-five; it was thought nearer two to one. A motion was made to adjourn, when a mob started out of the house, "shouting, yelling, howling, like so many demons from the infernal regions."

Mr. Codding lectured the next evening (Saturday) to a very large audience, and in Baring twice on Sunday to crowded houses. He left on Monday with fifty dollars for the cause of the slaves. Here was a victory which was felt by the whole state. The plan was to seize the time which Mr. Codding designed for lectures and use it in debate, by which they could defeat his object and turn the current against the cause. Other men of strength were called to their aid, N. Abbot, a lawyer, and Mr. Jellison. But the practical result was to give Mr. Codding the occasion to do ten times more for the right than he could otherwise have done, and break down proslavery power in that region of the state. "In their own net was their foot taken."

In July, 1838, Rev. David Thurston resigned his agency of the American Antislavery Society. He had devoted a year to arduous, self-denying, earnest labor all over the state, "preaching deliverance to the captives." He disregarded the reproach, hostility, mobs, that must be met, and hazarded his long, happy pastorate of thirty years. But he *must* plead for those speechless millions, inasmuch as doing it for them was doing it for Him whom he served. If he could scatter the seed of truth over the state and plant the right ideal of the cause in the minds of the people, it would grow; and no man in the state could have commanded for it more respect and confidence against the tempest of falsehood and slander. He was a man of solid ability, "without guile," of eminent piety, and courteous in manners. No one who ever heard his prayers will forget them. No man did more to give



David Thurston



the grand reform the right basis and direction in the state, and he did much for it as national.

Resigning his agency he wrote: "Never was my own mind more deeply convinced of the truth, the righteousness, or the magnitude of the abolition enterprise. May I never forget the oppressed and the dumb. Occasionally my mouth must be opened still to plead their cause, for they are emphatically poor and needy." He returned to his home and ministry, but annoyance was there, especially from political partisans. He went to Europe, visited several countries, and attended a great International Antislavery convention in Scotland. He afterward resigned his ministry in Winthrop, and was pastor in Vassalborough, Searsport, and at last in Litchfield where he labored many years, till the "shock of corn fully ripe,' was gathered in.

In 1838 the Lincoln Congregational Conference refused to have any resolution on slavery received, or anything said; and it disallowed the publication of the pastoral letter because it slightly alluded to it. Such had been its law from the first. Bath was in that county, and in close commercial relations with the South.

At the Kennebec Congregational Conference, Dr. Tappan presented resolutions which were passed unanimously: "That slave-holding is a great sin, hindering the success of the gospel and destructive to the souls of men, and it is the duty of ministers and churches to undertake its removal; that peace secured by the sacrifice of principle and neglect of duty is more to be dreaded, because more fatal to the souls

of men, than agitation occasioned by proclaiming the whole truth in love."

The Maine Congregational Conference adopted the important measure of appointing a committee to commence a friendly correspondence with ecclesiastical bodies at the South, consisting of Rev. William Allen, Rev. Benjamin Tappan, Rev. John W. Chickering, Rev. Asa Cummings, Rev. Silas McKeen, Rev. William T. Dwight, Rev. Swan L. Pomroy.

The Penobscot Freewill Baptist Yearly Meeting resolved, "That slavery is a national sin, and we, as ministers, Christians, philanthropists, and freemen, will use our exertions in every constitutional manner for its immediate abolition."

The first annual meeting of the Bangor Antislavery Society, August, 1838, reported one hundred and five members, meetings held once a month, five hundred petitions against the annexation of Texas, the circulation of five hundred copies of the Antislavery Record, (published by the American Society, one hundred and seventy-five pages,) two thousand copies of Human Rights, four hundred containing account of the murder of Lovejoy, and one hundred copies of the Advocate. The Bangor Female Antislavery Society had one hundred members, and raised one hundred dollars. Both societies, three hundred dollars.

A Kennebec County Convention was held, and the main subject of discussion was "Under no possible circumstances will we vote for slavery by voting for members of national or state legislatures who will not go to the utmost verge of Constitutional powers for its abolition, but we will always vote for men who will

do this." Laid over for further thought. A county society was formed, and fifty dollars worth of books bought by the members. County societies were organized in 1838 in nearly all counties of the state, and many female societies.

The Franklin County Society was held at New Sharon, December 20, and continued two days; Hon. Hiram Belcher, President; Colonel C. Morse, Vice-president; John Titcomb, Secretary. The names most prominent were Rev. D. B. Randall, Rev. Isaac Rogers, Dr. L. Perkins, Rev. J. Chaney, John Perham, Rev. E. W. Jackson, E. Pope, Rev. S. Talbot, Rev. J. Underwood, Rev. D. Sewall, Rev. J. T. Hawes, C. Smith, Rev. D. B. Burbank, Samuel Cordis, and Dr. Cook. Among the resolutions were: That the only way to stop antislavery excitement is to remove the cause. That in the great alarm and terror at the South on the subject of abolition, we have great encouragement to persevere. Continued petitioning Congress. The question of right voting came up there also, and was earnestly discussed, and a resolution adopted, "That special thanks are due to Almighty God for the noble stand of John Quincy Adams, William Slade of Vermont, and William Morris of Ohio, in favor of free discussion; and that we will not cease until the Halls of Congress are filled with such men." The meeting was of much interest. The society held quarterly meetings.

The fifth annual meeting of the Maine Antislavery Society was held in South Church, Hallowell, February 6 and 7, 1840. The attendance was large and earnest, and each session opened with prayer. Commit-

tees were chosen. Professor Smyth read his annual report, reviewing the year in state and country with great ability. Mr. Ichabod Codding had been employed as general agent of the society, and Charles L. Remond had done much service. The Advocate of Freedom had been made a weekly paper, with thirteen hundred circulation. "It now had an editor whose time and talents could be exclusively devoted to it, and no effort should be spared to increase its circulation and power." Rev. D. B. Randall had been employed to establish a depository of antislavery books and publications, who, although hindered by ill health, had raised one thousand dollars by subscription and purchased seven hundred dollars worth of books. J. Barron had established twenty-four libraries in as many towns, and sold a large amount to individuals. Many new societies had been formed, county societies had held effective meetings, and a Young Men's Convention had given the cause a new impulse. Receipts of the year, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four dollars and seventy-five cents, in spite of unprecedented hard times.

Many petitions had been presented to the state legislature to request our members of Congress to seek the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and to prevent the admission of more slave states. The subject was referred to a joint committee, who reported against it by a majority as "impertinent"; but Gen. Appleton, chairman, reported in favor for the minority with strong argument. But the majority report was adopted by the legislature, and the minority laid on the table, its printing refused, ninety-four to

fifty-five. Thus slavery held its lash over the state by political partyism. The report notices the fact, already mentioned, of the refusal to Governors Kent and Dunlap, to surrender citizens of the state charged with aiding the escape of slaves on demand of the governor of Georgia, and that in retaliation an act passed the House in that state, one hundred and forty-three to forty-three, holding a citizen of Maine entering the state a criminal, but the Senate dared not pass it. The agitation was instructive.

The report also speaks of the good progress made in religious society during the year. In connection with the Baptist Association an antislavery convention was held by nearly all present. An able address was adopted urging Christians of the denomination to enter boldly into the cause of the slaves. The Methodists also had made great progress. The cause was strong and increasing in Congregational churches, although the last General Conference refused even the reading of some antislavery resolutions. But the most happy results were anticipated from its southern correspondence. "The Freewill Baptists exhibit the cheering spectacle of a denomination united almost to a man on the subject of slavery." Its last General Conference, held in Ohio, declared its abhorrence of the crying sin of slavery, regretted its toleration in the churches, urged its membership to use all their powers against it, commended the antislavery cause, and the decided course of the Morning Star.

A minister from Kentucky offered credentials for membership, but upon learning that he was a

slave-holder the Conference declared it would neither recognize him as a minister nor fellowship him as a Christian. The report then surveys the political aspect of the cause, shows the hopelessness of petitions without the ballot, the failure of the policy of questioning candidates, and advocates powerfully a separate party. "On a test question, where the liberty of the slave and the despotism that binds him grapple for the mastery, Whig and Democrat will alike go for party first and the slave next If human government is ordained of God, then it is the solemn duty of every one to exert all the powers he possesses to bring civil government into conformity with the great principles of the Divine administration. Cheered on by an approving conscience, by the approbation of the civilized world, with truth on its side, and the smiles of Heaven upon it, such a party could not fail in the end to accomplish its object. . . . By timely repentance the nation may yet be saved. Let us then work as for our lives. Let us cheerfully make the efforts and sacrifices the exigency of the cause demands, and make our land the Home of the Free."

The report was printed in pamphlet, forty-five pages, and widely circulated. Resolutions were passed to send a delegation to the World's Antislavery Convention in London, and S. L. Pomeroy, B. F. Teffts, and C. L. Remond were appointed. Also, in support of the Advocate of Freedom; that slavery in the District of Columbia was a violation of the Constitution; that churches and ministers who exert the

least influence in support of slavery so far thwart the object for which they were instituted; that it is the duty of abolitionists to vote for such men for rulers, and such only, as have given in their antislavery character a pledge that they regard the question of slavery as paramount to other political questions, and that they will go to the verge of their constitutional power for its abolition; that we earnestly entreat our friends in the state not to forget the monthly concert of prayer for the enslaved. Officers were elected, Gen. Fessenden, President; Professor Smyth, Corresponding Secretary; S. Sewall, Recording Secretary; S. K. Gilman, Treasurer; and a Vice-president in each county. Executive Committee, Edward Southwick, William Prescott, Paul Stickney, D. Thurston, D. B. Randall, A. Willey. Among the able speakers were Fessenden, Smyth, Tappan, Hathaway, Cordis, Randall, Codding, Tefft, Pomeroy, Thurston, Trafton, Robinson, May. The occasion of two days was religious, earnest, and powerful. A liberal amount of money was subscribed, and work renewed. The House of Representatives, in Congress, this year renewed its former "gag" rule, one hundred and fourteen to one hundred and eight, that no antislavery petitions "should be received or entertained in any manner whatever." Maine representatives voting against it were Evans, Davee, Anderson, Randall, Clifford and Lowell. Voting for it, *Albert Smith*, *Virgil D. Parris*. There was strong indignation against these two servile Democrats. Nothing better was expected of Parris, but Smith, in answer to

the committee, had said, "No man can be more decidedly opposed to slavery in the abstract than I am. I am in favor also of the right of petition of the citizens of the United States to Congress in its broadest sense." This elected him by a small majority; but party pressure just before a presidential election was too much for his integrity or honor. It was, however, useful in showing the folly of the questioning policy, and the necessity of a party clear from all alliance with or a dependence upon the mighty power to be overcome. J. Q. Adams wrote: "The fire of Liberty burns yet though with flickering flame, in New England. It will yet kindle and consume to ashes the dastardly sophisms with which slavery would pollute our souls. I may not live to see the day."

Emancipation in the British West Indies was an event of intense interest to all parties in this country. They were near neighbors to our slave states, and the great upheaval by which slavery fell was in close sympathy and co-operation with that which attacked it here. If the experiment there was happily successful, its influence would be powerful against it here. And such was the glorious fact. Rev. Mr. Scoble of England had been in those islands two years, laboring and observing, and in 1839 came to the states and lectured extensively, informing the country of the grand results of liberty there. Men went from this country and thoroughly examined the case, and their reports were widely circulated. The freed slaves were peaceful, industrious, and eager for enlighten-

ment. This silenced the prediction of horrible results of emancipation, and greatly strengthened the immediate demand for it. The French government also sent a deputation to those islands for the same purpose, whose report was followed by measures by the French government for emancipation in all its islands.

CHAPTER XI.

THE AMISTAD CAPTIVES. THE BALLOT AGAINST SLAVERY. A NEW ORGANIZATION INDISPENSABLE. ITS TRUE BASIS, SUBLIMITY AND DIFFICULTIES. NATIONAL CONVENTION. NOMINATIONS. LIBERTY PARTY. FLAG UNFURLED. HOSTILITY. RELIGIOUS ACTION. BANGOR FEMALE ANTISLAVERY SOCIETY. SPLENDID FAIR. WORLD'S CONVENTION.

AN event occurred in 1839 which excited the whole country, and revealed to the nations still more clearly the almost incredible apostasy and degradation of our nation, while a signal victory sent a cheer of hope to the hearts of its patriots.

The African slave-trade was made piracy by the laws of civilized countries, but still was carried on to more or less extent, especially by those where slavery existed. The laws of Spain prohibited it and freed the slaves taken, but in June of that year a vessel with Portuguese colors landed a cargo of Africans in Cuba. Fifty-two were purchased by slave dealers, and license obtained to ship them to the island of Principe. On the voyage they rose under one as a leader, killed the captain and cook, took command of the Amistad, but spared the crew and the two slave owners. They ordered them to steer for their native land, but instead of that the sailors took advantage of their ignorance and steered for our coast, reaching Long Island Sound where they were delivered up to a naval officer and taken to New London, Connecticut. Here they were put in prison on a charge of murder.

The slave purchasers claimed the vessel and all it contained.

The slave power saw what was involved in the issue, the nation versus slavery, and a justification of mutiny and insurrection by slaves. The South was roused, and the servile portion of the North. The government, with Van Buren at its head, was throughout its abject tool, and the Spanish government, through its minister and agents, enlisted on the same side, regardless of its own laws. On the other side were the hated, traduced, despised abolitionists, "the Jacobins of France, the Nihilists of Russia," says Professor A. Phelps of Andover. They remembered Him who said, "I was sick and in prison and you came to me"; and also "the man who fell among thieves," and they came quickly to the defence of these helpless, suffering, dying victims of tyranny, who had manfully asserted their rights. A committee was appointed in New York consisting of the three noble men, Lewis Tappan, S. S. Jocelyn, and Joshua Leavitt, to solicit funds, employ counsel, and defend their rights. Mr. Tappan was their chief agent, and by his great-heartedness, energy, liberality, and business capacity, the work was nobly done. Some money went from Maine.

The cause must go to the court, but instructions came from Washington to keep it as far as possible in executive control, and if judicial decision was for their surrender, to hurry them off, if possible, before appeal could be taken. The decision of the District Court was against them, but appeal was entered to the Circuit Court, with the same result.

One chance more remained, and appeal was instantly demanded to the Supreme Court, and could not be denied. John Q. Adams was added to the counsel, and brought all his vast learning and ability to the cause without charge. With terrible scathing, for three hours, he exposed the dastardly conspiracy of the government against justice and law, defended the helpless captives, and won a decision in their favor! It was a glorious victory over despotism, and Mr. Adams quickly wrote to Mr. Tappan "*They are free!*"

But the broad designs of Providence which inspired these noble men were not all fulfilled. The plan of accompanying the return of these Africans with missionaries to their country was undertaken, and Mr. Tappan left his large, pressing business for weeks and went over New England and other states, raising subscriptions and enlisting religious adoption of this object, which was successfully done, and the "Mendi Mission," now in successful progress in Africa is one result. This soon drew together some other missionary organizations which had sprung up from dissatisfaction with the position held by the principal societies toward slave-holding, and these originated the American Missionary Association. Those Africans had a mission to America. So "the wrath of man shall praise Him" when his people are faithful.

Thought and discussion respecting the use of the ballot against slavery had been noticeable for some time in the antislavery ranks; but about 1840 this took more definite form and produced an era in its history. The constitutions of its societies recog-

nized the duty of using this power against slavery, but no new party was contemplated. The first great work of the reform was to inform the whole people, and arouse them from their dreams. It was especially the endeavor to enlighten and enlist the moral and religious forces of the country against slavery before which it was hoped it would fall, and without which as a basis no other measures could succeed. To substitute immediatism for useless gradualism as the Bible commands against all sin.

Slavery was a subject of law and government, and it was attempted to meet these responsibilities by petitions, and voting for the most favorable candidates, ascertained by questioning. But it was soon learned how petition fared, and that political promises were worthless when unfavorable to party. The action of the government on the subject had turned attention to this department of the cause, and it was seen that the ballot must follow petitions or they would be found "before swine" and petitioners with them. It began to be perceived that it was absurd to rely on political parties to do what must divide and destroy them; and that no party could be adequate for the fierce conflict with the powerful slave despotism which held any relations with it or dependence upon it. It must be supremely devoted to its extermination to the utmost extent of constitutional power, "every weight laid aside, and loins girt about with truth"; unconditional surrender, its only condition. Where was such a party to be found? Or where one that could be made such?

Then the ground on which the party must rest was

new in American history. It must go back to the Declaration of Independence and find the rights which the government was formed to protect. Slavery was a state institution, but the national was a government of liberty. "It had no more right to make a slave than to make a king;" no more right to favor and aid slavery than to assist robbery and murder. Yet it had been prostituted by party and perjury to the service of slavery for a century. Now the noble, humane, patriotic, and Christian endeavor is to rescue and restore it to liberty! Under such a national government all knew that slavery would die. State power alone could not save it. Here was found the main fortress of the slave power, and here it must be met and routed. But only a trained army could do it, and the call for volunteers began.

Another strong argument for a new party was, that consistency required it. Voting for men and parties not representing their principles but the opposite, was voting themselves down. They would be talking one way and voting another. This absurdity would soon ruin any cause.

It was a sublime endeavor, much like that of the "Six Quakers" of England. These abolitionists were now a small minority of the people of the free states, persecuted, slandered, hated, and despised. How could they create a political power which would rise to a majority of the nation, both the old parties go down before it, take the government, rescue it from fatal perversion and tyranny, and lift up the nation to its ancestral platform of "Life, Liberty and pursuit of Happiness"? They had no example in history as





JAMES G. BIRNEY.

the future will have, and only faith in God for the success of right endeavors could have inspired the attempt.

In all the free states advanced antislavery thought was turning to the question of a new political antislavery party, but New York led the discussion and action by such eminent men as Myron Holley, William Goodell, Gerrit Smith, Alvan Stewart, Joshua Leavitt, J. G. Birney, and others. The New York Antislavery Society, held in Utica in 1839, adopted a resolution written by Mr. Goodell, pledging to vote for no candidate not pledged to antislavery objects. This was adopted extensively by antislavery societies East and West, and prepared the way for a new party as the only means, as a rule, by which such candidates could be found.

A national convention was held in Albany, April 1, 1840, to discuss these subjects of political action, and nominate presidental candidates if deemed best. But six states were represented by one hundred and twenty-one delegates, one hundred and four from New York. A majority of eleven approved of a nomination, and James G. Birney was made the candidate for President, and Thomas Earle of Pennsylvania for Vice-president. Mr. Birney was a native of Kentucky, an able lawyer, and Christian gentleman of dignity and culture, once a slave-holder, and now devoted to the emancipation of his country and its enslaved victims. For this he had sacrificed property, position, and home, and to his wisdom and fearless devotion his country and its liberated victims will ever owe a grateful remembrance. Mr. Earle was a

Quaker, a scholar, and man of distinction, but sacrificed all to liberty.

The great cause of National Freedom was thus boldly personified before the nation, demanding its highest offices in its support for the first time, and a new "Liberty Party" was born to carry it to victory! But a small part of its true friends were yet convinced of its wisdom, but discussion was constantly increasing the number. Although viewed now with contempt for its feebleness, it was seen that if this movement went on it must add to all its other belligerency an inveterate political war; but its necessity was increasingly apparent, although several states were not prepared to issue an electoral ticket that year.

The old antislavery societies, which adhered to Mr. Garrison and his party, firmly resisted this new departure. It did not originate in Boston leadership; it assumed what was there denied, that the national government was a government of liberty, and repudiated the wild views of civil duties extensively entertained in that section of antislavery society, now separated from the great movement of the country. It is not surprising that Mr. Garrison's noble work in the early years of the cause, and the persecution he endured, retained for him the confidence and sympathy of large numbers of true friends of the slaves. But although he held tenaciously to his position till slavery was abolished, his following constantly declined and nearly all gave their ballots for the party of freedom.

Mr. Codding attended that Albany convention and wrote to the Advocate: "I had my doubts when I

came to the convention, that the time had come for the proposed action; but those doubts were removed by the light of the discussion. We were not unaware that we should bring upon ourselves a storm of reproach and venomous abuse, yet we felt that the argument was with us, and the voice of God's providence called loudly for the step. The convention seemed not to 'confer with flesh and blood,' but willing to take that stand which truth demanded, trusting in God for the issue." Myron Holley argued that "neither of the existing parties will present suitable candidates for our suffrages. They will never forego *present* power for future victory. But *we* can. That by making nominations we shall increase our moral influence, and demonstrate our integrity; that we are bound by God's law to vote for such men as will protect the rights which he has given to man; that moral suasion, or influence, must act itself out in consistent voting or disappear."

President Beriah Green said: "If caucus nominations were subversive of personal responsibility, it was a duty to oppose them. There was nothing more monstrous than the common sin of the times —abstractions, without a practical application of them. We are bound to put ourselves practically on an equality with our brother in bondage. We must discharge our present duties, and leave contingencies with God." Alvan Stewart, a noble man and able lawyer, said: "We cannot vote for either of the parties without voting for a slave-holder. The scattering system was of as little avail as it would be for a man

to stand on an iceberg and whistle to the northwest wind to warm the atmosphere."

Mr. Birney and Mr. Earle wrote letters of acceptance of great argumentative ability in support of a new party as indispensable to the success of the cause. Thought and discussion were awakened, followed by conviction in favor of the measure. Conventions were called in Massachusetts, Vermont, Illinois, Michigan, New York, New Jersey, Iowa, and Ohio, before the middle of August, to consider the subject, and nominate electors if they so decided. This was done in all by small majorities; other states followed, and the flag of liberty floated before the nation. The tree, whose leaves were to heal the nation, was set out and protected by unfaltering hands. However despised then, the mighty results will ever place it as one of the noblest events in our country's history. Clear perception already saw that slavery must fall by either "ballots or bullets," not anticipating that it would require both.

The cause had been generally committed to the principle of voting for no candidate not fully committed to its objects; and now to vote for Harrison or Van Buren, who were both the servile servants of the slave power and pledged against any antagonism to it, was to destroy the integrity of the cause and ruin it. The political contest that year was terribly severe, and abolitionists themselves had not overcome their party attachments, perhaps inherited, and all the inventions of the great Deceiver to delude, cheat, seduce, frighten, had to be encountered. But the

heroic advocates of the new party of righteousness, disregarding all human expediencies, planted themselves on the rock of God's law over civil government — its objects, the character of its administrators, and the personal responsibility of the voter in charge of that sovereignty. There they stood, invincible, leaning on pledged Omnipotence! Wait and see the results.

In some states the Liberty Party nominated state tickets. In New York Gerrit Smith was its candidate for governor; but in Maine the Whigs nominated Edward Kent, a man of solid character and recognized antislavery principles, who had the year before answered questions satisfactorily. Antislavery people generally supported and elected him in September, and without this support that party had no prospect of success in the November election. This made its hostility desperate against the new party, and every conceivable device, obstructive to its progress, was resorted to. It had a ticket with Harrison and Tyler, the latter a radical slave-holder of Virginia as proslavery as the Democrats, but the people must not know it. This brought a severe war on the Advocate and its editor of falsehood, slander, reproachful epithets; and a strong effort was made to cause such a reduction of circulation as to break it down, and a very considerable loss was realized. But it faithfully informed the people of the truth, and that voting for such candidates was voting for slavery, whatever the excuse; and if slavery was sin, such voters were sinners, and betraying the cause they professed to approve. With inadequate means to reach even a

large part of antislavery people, still truth was making steady progress.

The committee appointed by the last Congregational State Conference to correspond with religious bodies and persons at the South on slave-holding, reported to the conference of 1840 that they had written as instructed. Some of the bodies addressed made no reply, others returned the letter with the word "rejected," but the Presbytery of Tombecbe, Mississippi, answered, boldly maintaining from the Bible that slavery was not a "moral evil," but an authorized domestic relation highly beneficial to the slaves; and requested the publication of their answer. This was done and the committee instructed to publish a reply. This was written by Rev. Silas McKeen of Belfast, an able, faithful man of extraordinary logical power. It was a masterly, exhaustive argument, published in several papers in Maine, and afterward by the American and Foreign Antislavery Society, but not by that Presbytery as requested. Other religious bodies commenced correspondence with the South, and much good resulted from the policy. A few weeks before the conference met, Rev. Mr. Ellingwood of Bath wrote an article in the Mirror trying to show that all action by the conference on the subject of slavery was unconstitutional. But this attempt to silence its voice was not heard of again.

The American Baptist Antislavery Convention, at its first meeting in New York, April 28–30, 1840, issued an able address "To the slave-holders of the southern states." The Baptists in Maine held an





Truly yours, L. C. Stevens.

antislavery convention in connection with their state meetings. This year it was held in Belfast, June 17. It approved of their National Convention, on whose Executive Committee were Rev. E. R. Warren and Rev. James Gilpatrick of Maine. It asked for an "antislavery department in Zion's Advocate, to be conducted by some Baptist abolitionist"; strongly recommended the Advocate of Freedom; and resolved, "That while it is true that if the cause of the slave is the cause of God, it will prosper, it is also true that those who use this plea for doing nothing, pronounce a base libel on God's method of banishing wickedness by human instrumentality." The chief speakers were L. C. Stevens, E. R. Warren, E. W. Cressy, C. Newton, D. Nutter, T. B. Robinson, J. Gilpatrick, W. R. Prescott.

These efforts for righteousness in that denomination were of much value. Many others in the ministry of their denomination were not abolitionists on paper alone, but were faithful, self-denying laborers "in works meet." Rev. L. C. Stevens was a man of ability, consecrated life, highly esteemed in the ministry, and ever true to the great Christian cause. These and the Methodist General Conference, this year at Baltimore, had warm discussion on slavery, but the report of the committee *to do nothing*, was adopted. Also, the rule of discipline to reject colored testimony, was sustained. The officers of two colored churches in Baltimore sent to the conference an earnest protest, signed by forty names, against this atrocious rule, but it was not even presented. In August a National Antislavery Convention of Metho-

dists was called to consider and take action on the doings of the General Conference. So the great conflict went on.

The Freewill Baptists at their yearly meeting resolved: "that slavery is a gross immorality and crying sin both in principle and effect, and should be immediately abandoned; that we profess to be Bible Christians, and that commands the election of 'just men, fearing God' for rulers; that the only hope of purifying the political world lies in disregarding partyism and voting for righteous men." This great truth must be learned and practiced, or free government perish.

The Bangor Female Antislavery Society did a noble work in 1840. The plan was adopted at their annual meeting the preceding year, to prepare and gather articles for a public sale to raise money for the cause. The society had one hundred and twenty-five members, and held well attended meetings once in two weeks. Their work was not talk alone, but praying, raising funds for the cause, and distributing sound antislavery literature among the people. This sale was the leading object this year. Ladies and societies in other towns co-operated and furnished tables at the sale, which came off August 26 and 27. The notice by the committee was signed by Sally Wilson, M. A. Tupper, Hannah Silsbee, Sarah M. Plummer, Elizabeth Shepherd, Elizabeth Shaw, Alathea Bradbury, Eliza T. Mason, Abba M. Moody. Other towns having tables were Hallowell, Brownville, Sangerville, Hollis, Portland, Machias, Camden, Perry, Brewer, Augusta, New Sharon, Frankfort, Bath.

The hall was beautifully decorated with paintings, flowers, and evergreen mottoes, "Emancipation," "Let My People Go," "Liberty," "Loose the Bands of Wickedness," with the Declaration of Independence. Tables of refreshments were provided; and before sales began Rev. David Thurston offered prayer. The sales amounted to eight hundred dollars. The Secretary's report says: "Do you ask, why is all this? The answer is, two million, seven hundred and fifty thousand of our brothers and sisters are in slavery and we go to preach deliverance to the captives. Their sufferings and wrongs touched the female's heart, and these are their efforts for their emancipation."

That Mrs. Plummer, soon after I went to Bangor, put in my hand some able arguments which settled my convictions and enlisted me in the cause. The women of Maine had a large share in releasing it from base servitude to slavery, and lifting it up to liberty. When the storms of hostility were dark and fierce, to go about the state and meet them was always to return with renewed courage and inspiration. So far as is recollected, never was a hostile word heard from a woman. We shall hear from them again.

Another notable event of the year was the World's Antislavery Convention in London, June 12, 1840. Such a movement for personal liberty the world had not seen. There were five hundred delegates, — one hundred from other countries, — from the United States, West Indies, Canada, France, Spain, Switzerland, Scotland, Ireland, etc. The venerable antislavery chieftain of England, Thomas Clarkson, was elected

chairman, and made a short speech expressing great pleasure in being able to be present and said: "Take courage, be not dismayed, go on, persevere to the last. Though my body is fast going to decay, my heart beats as warmly in this sacred cause now in the eighty-first year of my age as it did at the age of twenty-four, when I first took it up. You have a most difficult task, the extirpation of slavery from the *whole world.* May the Supreme Ruler of human events guide your councils, and give his blessing on your labors." His little grandson of nine years accompanied him. He was the only one living of the committee which in 1787 assaulted the slave-trade.

There was a large delegation from this country, among whom were J. G. Birney, (made a vice-president,) H. B. Stanton, Wendell Phillips, John Keep, Oberlin, Thomas Scott, E. Galusha, N. Colver. Lord Brougham sent a note of congratulation. There were George Thompson, Mr. Buxton, O'Connell, Sturge, J. A. James, and other great men. Slavery in this country of boasted liberty was regarded as the most formidable and atrocious in the world, and Rev. J. A. James said "the church was its main prop." A deplorable fact for history! The Maine Society had appointed as delegates to that convention Rev. S. L. Pomeroy, Rev. B. F. Teffts, and C. L. Remond.

Information was given respecting slavery in all countries under which it existed; the happy results of West India emancipation were stated, and intelligence given respecting the great upheaval of the nations for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade.

Powerful and eloquent speeches were made in various languages and translated. When Mr. Birney had presented the cause in this country and the action of the government, O'Connell followed with a thrilling speech in which he said: "Upon the American escutcheon there was written in characters of blood, 'We are patronizers of slavery, we are perpetrators of robbery and murder.' It was a glorious struggle, a holy cause, abolitionists were engaged in. Let them persevere, and sacred freedom's banner would soon float over emancipated America." A powerful speech was made by a French delegate and member of the French legislature. The position was strongly taken against Christian fellowship with slave-holders or their sympathizers.

The convention was marked by dignity, careful deliberation, high moral bearing, and vigorous action. It was believed to have put forth greater moral power than any other ever held on earth. It brought the best thought and sympathy of the Christian world into unity against slavery. It especially turned a vast moral influence in support of the cause of liberty in this country, and struck a heavy blow upon its opposers. John G. Whittier the great poet of liberty, wrote for the convention a splendid poem. A grand reception festival for foreign delegates followed the close of the convention. The Queen sent her endorsement of the objects and measures of the convention.

CHAPTER XII.

WORK WITH THE PEOPLE. LECTURES. THOMASTON. STATE ELECTIONS. PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES. SEVERE CONFLICT. WAR ON THE ADVOCATE. WEBSTER. PROGRESS. OHIO. WESLEYAN ANTISLAVERY SOCIETY. ELECTORAL TICKET IN MAINE. THE ELECTION. ACTION RENEWED. REMONSTRANCE FROM SCOTLAND.

THE work in the state went on this year with energy. County and town societies held their well attended meetings, liberal funds were raised, lecturing was prosecuted, the people supplied with powerful reading, and all in spite of the political tempest of the year. Rev. Mr. Randall, as agent of the state society, held a series of meetings early in the season, beginning in Anson, assisted by Rev. C. W. Morse, the first ever held there.

The people, he said, had no information on the subject, the political parties were about even, and feared to have the subject of slavery introduced. He found that quite a number from that town had gone South and become slave-owners. One was now back there who owned twenty slaves, and had just been received into the church! They were among the most respectable citizens. Many slaves were owned in Maine. From there he went to Solon and held a meeting afternoon and evening, which he believed would be useful, though there was much rumselling there. Then he went to Bingham, but the notice had not

been well given. But he had a meeting, sold books, got subscribers to the Advocate, and thus planted seed. The next place was Anson, where he had a good meeting, formed a society of thirty, sold books, and got subscribers. This he expected, for it was "a neighborhood of Freewill Baptists," who took the Morning Star. "Had religious papers at the North taken the same position as that paper slavery would have been nearly abolished. They must answer for it to God."

The next place was New Portland, where the meeting was large and exceedingly interesting, but only because the Freewill Baptist minister, Rev. John Lennan, traveled thirty miles to notify the people. "What a contrast with many ministers who will not even read a notice of an antislavery meeting. May God give them repentance!" A society was formed of fifty members; sold many books, and got ten subscribers. "The harvest will be abundant." Next at Starks, "where the new, fine meeting-house was well filled, the result exceeding our expectation." A society of over eighty members was formed, several subscribers obtained, and a ten dollar library sold and paid for. "This is the way where the people are unprejudiced." His tour in Somerset County was completed in Norridgewock, address afternoon and evening, meetings large, and called the best they ever had. There was no better work than by such volunteer agency.

Mr. Codding, June 3, 1840, resigned as agent of the state society, having labored faithfully and effi-

ciently two years. He went to Connecticut in the same work, and afterward went West, entered the ministry and died after many years of labor.

The state society changed its auxiliary relation from the American Antislavery Society to the new American and Foreign Antislavery Society. The Franklin County Society held its annual meeting at New Sharon, July 1; the Washington County Society, at Machias, July 4; the Sumner and Hartford, in Sumner, July 4. Receipts of the Maine Society in July were one hundred and twenty-eight dollars and thirty-five cents. This at that season indicated the earnestness of the friends of the oppressed. The Litchfield Society held its annual meeting July 4. Rev. T. Davis, President; Deacon I. Smith, Deacon W. Bartlett, H. Shorey, Esquire, Vice-presidents; Deacon T. Smith, Treasurer; G. C. Waterman, Secretary; Elias Plimpton, B. Springer, Z. B. Smith, C. Toothaker, Rev. T. Ayer, Executive Committee. The report dwelt on the encouraging progress of the cause, the condition of the slaves, and the duty of giving more for their cause. "An instructive address was delivered by Mr. Willey." The York County Society held its annual meeting in Limerick, September 23 and 24. Prayer, singing, and discussion of resolutions occupied the time. The sinfulness of slavery and its atrocity were shown; that it was largely a national sin, "demanding of all the people in every part of the Union to do their utmost to immediately put it away." "We trust much good was done." A. R. Bradbury, Secretary.

September 8, the editor of the Advocate went to Livermore and gave a lecture Thursday evening on what slavery was to the slaves, to a large, attentive audience, and on Friday evening to one still larger, on what slavery is to the nation. No lecture had ever been given before in that town. Arrangements were made for forming a society, and to go to work thoroughly to inform the people. The Baptists Anti-slavery Convention, held in connection with their state meetings, was not allowed to be held at all in Thomaston this year, in a church, around it, in the street, nor in a private house.

But the great struggles of the cause this year were political. Hon. George Evans was the Whig candidate for re-election to Congress in the Kennebec District. He was questioned respecting his views on slavery, and avowed the constitutional principles held by the abolitionists, but would make no promises, intending, obviously, to hold party supreme. He was elected, as the Whig candidate. Hon. Edward Kent was for Governor. Indeed, that party swept the state in September elections, and more than all else by force of antislavery votes and public sentiment which abolitionists had already created. The Democratic party, having been long in power and consequently in the abject service of slavery, had a record and training which defeated them. William Pitt Fessenden of Portland was elected to Congress over Albert Smith. Mr. Fairfield, a "gag" voter was also defeated, and Elisha H. Allen, of Bangor, elected in place of Hannibal Hamlin, giving the Whigs five representatives

in Congress, the Governor, senate and house in the legislature.

Efforts now all turned to the presidential election. Van Buren of New York was contesting for re-election with Harrison of Indiana. The former had demonstrated his bondage to the slave power beyond question, and Harrison was no better. He was a native of Virginia, and his whole record was on the side of slavery so clearly as to satisfy the southern Whigs. And with him stood Tyler for Vice-president, a radical slave-holder and slave-breeder of Virginia. How shall antislavery people vote? They had not severed their party relations; the Whigs saw the necessity for their votes, and most strenuously, by every artifice, invention, sophistry, and delusion, sought to obtain them. Special care was taken to keep from the people correct information of their candidates.

The Advocate was held wide open to free, fair discussion of all sides of the subject of duty, and its columns were well filled. Its editorial position was: full, impartial intelligence, and the duty to vote as we talked, against the sin of slavery. It was a thing of law, and if a sin, it was a sin to aid its continuance by the ballot; that compromising with moral wrong was apostasy from right, and ruin in the end; that the ballot was subject to God's law, and he had prescribed its object and the character of civil officers — justice, and righteous men; that no party in alliance with and dependent on the slave power could abolish it without abolishing itself; that praying against slavery and

voting for it, was praying against the vote, and voting against the prayer; that the American ballot must be lifted up above party, to the control of moral law as a personal accountability, or the nation perish.

The Advocate said: "Several prominent Whigs have said, 'Abandon your ground and yield to the Whig current so far at least as to be silent about General Harrison, or you shall be crushed out.' Our answer has been, and we presume ever will be, 'Gentlemen, we choose the latter alternative.' But it will require truth and argument to do it."

Mr. Leavitt of the Emancipator said: "Our esteemed brother, Willey, is almost literally running the gauntlet for his temerity in publishing the proofs of General Harrison's deep devotion to slavery. After the heat is over all will admit that there is at least one upright abolitionist in Maine who cannot be warped by party predilections or appliances." Leading Whigs announced that they had already caused over three hundred copies of the Advocate to be stopped; but it was untrue.

In October Daniel Webster, the great Whig chief, visited Richmond, Virginia, and made a speech in which he said, with great emphasis, "I say that there is no power, directly or indirectly, in Congress or the general government, to interfere in the slightest degree with the institutions of the South." (Immense cheering.) This was a little suffocating to the Whig professions, but it shows the depth to which presidential office-seeking must descend. The people had already acquired so much information as to see the

enormity of this statement, that the national government was the main fortress and instrument on which slavery relied, and that slave-holders admitted that it could not stand without it. Outside of state jurisdiction its power was perfect, — in the District of Columbia, in all the vast territories, on the sea, over the trade between the states, over questions constantly arising in foreign relations, over all appointive offices, beside the immense moral power of the supreme government. It was too late for this artifice, and Mr. Webster was digging his political grave and that of his party.

The great debate went on in the antislavery ranks. Ohio held a large convention and voted by a small majority to adopt the Liberty ticket. Dr. Bailey, the able editor of the Philanthropist, now supported it. The antislavery Methodists held a large national convention in New York for the reform, especially, of their church. They organized an American Wesleyan Antislavery Society; D. B. Randall, one of its managers. It resolved, "that we will give our influence and votes only to those candidates who pledge themselves to support the most effectual measures for the entire abolition of slavery throughout the land." This of course meant the Birney ticket.

In Maine the antislavery societies had generally adopted the same position, but the pressure now was too severe for individual fidelity, and a large proportion substituted "expediency" for right, and the "least of two evils" for sensible citizenship. Invincible arguments had brought a large number to a halt, and

a clean ticket was called for, but no action was started. Mr. Augustus F. Holt of New Sharon here gives interesting information :

The Somerset County Antislavery Society held its annual meeting at Madison Center the fore part of October, 1840, where the question of independent political action was thoroughly discussed. The meeting-house was filled, all present participated, and it really was a mass meeting. It was evident that the Whigs were making a raid on us. The President, Eleazer Coburn, Esquire, left the chair and opposed independent action with all his power. Rev. G. W. Hathaway, of Bloomfield, replied with irrefutable logical argument, and irresistible eloquence. But the mass, blind to all argument, voted us down, and the meeting closed.

On our way home, Deacon John Kimball and myself discussed the situation, and decided that I should call personally on such as we knew could be relied on, to come together and nominate a state ticket of electors. About twenty tried and true men met in the old yellow school-house in Bloomfield, near the meeting-house, October 12. Deacon J. Kimball was chosen Moderator, and B. E. Messer, Secretary. After prayer, carefully drawn resolutions were presented by Rev. Mr. Hathaway, a well selected electoral ticket was adopted, and ordered published in Advocate of Freedom. Deacon John Bicknell of Madison failing to get a printed ticket, wrote out one covering half a sheet of paper. He had some difficulty in getting it into the box, which excited the mirth of the crowd. Nothing daunted, the good Deacon exclaimed, "*It will hatch!*" And sure enough the next year there were twenty-four votes cast in that town for the Liberty party.

The resolutions asserted, that as the Whig and Democrat parties, from servility to slavery, had nominated candidates for President and Vice-president pledged to entire subserviency to slavery, necessity was laid on consistent abolitionists to nominate another ticket; that they cordially approve of the nomination of Messrs. Birney and Earle, and Maine ought to have an electoral ticket in their support, but the time being too short for state action, "we offer such

a list of electors for which we will vote, whatever others may do," as follows:

LIBERTY TICKET.

Righteousness exalteth a nation. When the righteous are in authority the people rejoice; but when the wicked bear rule the people mourn. Prov. xxix.

For President.

JAMES GALLISPIE BIRNEY.

For Vice-President.

THOMAS EARLE.

Electors.

EBENEZER DOLE, Hallowell,	DANIEL F. HARDING, Union,
ZADOC HUMPHREY, No. Yarmouth,	CHARLES MORSE, Wilton,
GEORGE ROPES, Portland,	WILLIAM STEVENS, Guilford,
LUTHER GORDON, Acton,	WINSLOW HALL, Hartford,
WILLIAM A. CROCKER, Machias,	JOEL HILLS, Bangor.

This ticket was published, October 22; but even so late, it alarmed the slave parties, especially the Whigs, and every possible invention, except the truth, was resorted to for its disparagement, and to prevent people from voting for it; but it was adopted throughout the state by those who were decided and resolute enough to defy all intimidation and delusion, so far as ballots were furnished. No doubt hundreds more would have been cast for it, had they been well supplied at every voting place in the state. It was said that many votes were not reported, certainly our own was not. Here is the vote of 1840 for Birney and liberty:

Maine	194	Massachusetts	1,521	Ohio	903
New Hampshire	111	Connecticut	174	Illinois	159
Vermont	319	New York	2,808	New Jersey	75
Rhode Island	42	Pennsylvania	343	Michigan	328
		Total	6,977		

"Yet have I left seven thousand in Israel, all the knees which have not bowed to Baal, and every mouth which has not kissed him." There they stand, and there they will stand like Bunker Hill till despotism falls and "Liberty is proclaimed throughout all the land!" Would that history might call the roll. It was an era of destiny to the nation. It was asserting the supremacy of God's law over politics for the first time, and voting as well as "walking by faith" in Him to whom "all power is given." History has not yet revealed the full, sublime results.

The foundations of a political power are now laid which can grapple fatally with the bloody slave power; and, cheered by the past, its fearless architects at once renew their work in all the free states. Conventions were speedily called in states, counties, and towns, for discussion and action. Those who had voted for the proslavery parties "this once" were now released, and calmer reflection was working well with others. Harrison was elected over Van Buren by two hundred and thirty-four to sixty electoral votes, and the Whig party at last got the government.

Petitioning to the new Congress was vigorously renewed and also to state legislatures. But a new policy soon began to be apparent. Opposition, political and religious, had discovered that hostility, denunciation, and mobs would not put down the great Providential movement for the abolition of slavery, and it was now trying silent neglect and courteous contempt. The imminent danger was that this would

be mistaken for favorable tendency and lead to compromise. Many minds were not yet clear of the absurdity, delusion, and moral wrong of accepting "one step at a time," "half-a-loaf," "the least evil," etc., in the place of God's commands against sin. Antislavery light had defeated Van Buren, and his party had too servile a record to say much; but the Whigs, although now holding the place of that party in the service of slavery, saw the necessity of favorable screen-dress at the North. Politicians, North and South, had been watching with solicitude the tendency of abolition to the ballot-box, fearing nothing without it. Now it is boldly before the nation as an organized political power, armed with irresistible truth. There was silent alarm and a new aspect. Gideon's "three hundred" stood reiterating, "Let the oppressed go free," by the last muscle of Constitutional power! We will not compromise! This saved the cause, which steadily moved on to power.

"A Remonstrance from the Congregational Union of Scotland to our fellow Christians in America," written by Rev. Dr. Wardlaw, was a powerful paper. It sustained and cheered on the abolitionists, and kindly, faithfully remonstrated with their religious opponents. It urged "immediate and uncompromising hostility to the system of slavery" because thousands in the churches are "the active agents of its horrors," killing their spiritual life and promoting infidelity. "If you leave any legitimate means unemployed for removing this disgraceful and cruel system, you become its patrons and protectors." "Inactivity can-

not be guiltless until you have done 'whatsoever your hand findeth to do.'" May such terrible truths be remembered in respect to liquor and other great sins to be suppressed! The church in Winthrop, and perhaps others, responded to this Remonstrance by resolutions and report of a committee in its support which also were published and sent to Dr. Wardlaw.

CHAPTER XIII.

NATIONAL APPEAL. BAPTIST ANTISLAVERY CONVENTION. SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MAINE ANTISLAVERY SOCIETY. GENERAL FESSENDEN. LIBERTY PARTY ORGANIZED. SOMERSET. OXFORD. FRANKLIN. FIRST NOMINATION FOR CONGRESS. LINCOLN. CUMBERLAND. HARRISON. HIS DEATH.

THE National Committee of the Liberty party early in January, 1841, issued an address "To the friends of liberty and of the oppressed who intend to remove slavery by moral and political action as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States." It was elaborate, convincing, and inspiring. It presented the reasons for national action — the liberation of the slaves by God's command; the recovery of deserted liberty; the material welfare of the country; the hopelessness of other parties which were thoroughly committed to the slave power; the plans for future action "for which we have everything to encourage us," which were, to hold state conventions to appoint delegates to a national convention to nominate candidates for 1844, and county conventions to send delegates to the state conventions, and town meetings making arrangements for meetings in every school district, the work to be done by home labor as the best of all for this object. And the *press* power, the mightiest of all, was especially urged, and antislavery papers put into every family if possible, beside other literature. The cause would permanently advance as this was done. "When Justice became deaf

the ballot-box, the concentration of primeval sovereignty, has sent up a rocket illuminating the skies, which the careless cannot disregard, nor the stupid misunderstand. . . . Yes, the time will come when slavery shall have returned to its native hell. Is there a man in the free states who will not aid in its expulsion?"

A Maine Baptist Antislavery Convention was held at Topsham, January 19 and 20, "the first since the deluge of 1840," and was well attended. Rev. J. Gilpatrick was President; Rev. S. Fogg, Vice-president; Rev. S. Adlam, Secretary; W. R. Prescott, Treasurer; Messrs. S. Adlam, T. O. Lincoln, W. R. Prescott, D. Scribner, T. B. Robinson, N. M. Williams, E. R. Warren, L. C. Stevens, L. B. Allen, Standing Committee. An address was adopted to the Baptists of Maine, and another to the southern Baptist churches. It was stated that of the two hundred and fourteen Baptist ministers in the state, more than one hundred and eighty were recognized as decided abolitionists, and that such are in still greater proportion on all the Boards of their benevolent societies. "The largest additions were made to those churches whose pastors were most zealously devoted to the abolition cause."

They declared the sinfulness of slavery, the duty of immediate emancipation, urged a large attendance on the National Liberty Convention to be held in May, and appointed delegates to the meeting of the Maine Antislavery Society, and to the Baptist National Antislavery Convention. The Secretary said "this was the most important and best antislav-

ery meeting ever held by the denomination in the state." Rev. C. W. Denison, of Massachusetts, added much to the interest.

The Sixth Annual Meeting of the Maine Antislavery Society was held in South church, Hallowell, February 4 and 5, 1841. The President, General Fessenden, being absent, General Appleton was called to the chair. The Bible was read by Rev. David Thurston, and prayer by Rev. E. Robinson. Messrs. Smyth, Randall, Adlam, Willey, Warren, Hathaway, May, Pomeroy, Humphrey, Committee of Arrangements. Professor Smyth read his annual report, which was listened to two hours and a half with deep interest. It reviewed the whole cause during the year, traced its new political departure, and defended it with powerful arguments. This was followed by fair but earnest, searching, able discussion. Logic rarely does more effective work. Rev. Luther Lee, from Massachusetts, took part in the discussion. He was genial, and had remarkable argumentative power. Voters for Harrison would smile one minute and writhe the next in his grip. His position was "that it is a sin against God, our country, and the slave, to give our ballot-power to slavery." The audience seemed ready to exclaim, "O the power of Truth!" It was doubted if an individual left unconvinced. Mr. C. W. Denison also contributed much to the interest of the meeting.

Rev. Mr. Adlam read an interesting report on the World's Convention. Resolutions passed "deeply deploring the fact that the continuance of slavery was largely to be attributed to the Christian church;

that slavery is a sin against God, a violation of the most sacred rights of man, is corrupting both church and state, exhausting our national resources, impairing our national strength, blasting our national honor, and unless abolished will prove our national ruin; that we earnestly solicit, in behalf of our glorious enterprise, the contributions of the benevolent, the prayers of the pious, the voice of the pulpit, the influence of the press, the votes of freemen, the wisdom of statesmen, the zeal of patriots, and the combined influence of all; that the remarkable success with which God has honored our labors, calls loudly for gratitude to him, and for perseverance in our efforts of love, until slavery is abolished, or we are silent in death; that we earnestly recommend to all Christians to observe the monthly antislavery concert of prayer." Rev. David Thurston reported a paper on the necessity of agents for the cause. Officers elected: General Fessenden, President; Paul Stickney, Treasurer; Professor William Smyth, Corresponding Secretary; Simon Page, Recording Secretary; W. R. Prescott, Auditor; Vice-presidents, one in each county; D. Thurston, A. Willey, Ebenezer Dole, S. Adlam, D. B. Randall, Executive Committee. The meeting was large, able, and effective.

On motion of Professor Smyth his report was laid on the table, the question of a Liberty party being appropriate for another convention, and thus the harmony of the society was unimpaired. The subscription taken amounted to two hundred and ninety dollars, of which Mrs. Sophia Bond, of Hallowell, gave fifty dollars, Deacon Dole, twenty-five dollars. This

shows the earnestness. The Advocate said: "We have never before been aware of the strength which the cause has acquired in this state. By kindness, by self-denial, by activity, by uncompromising fidelity, our cause will be onward." General Fessenden wrote a letter to the meeting from which we must extract, in remembrance:

It is a source of deep regret that I cannot be with you. I shall lose much of instruction and pleasure, and be deprived from aiding the glorious cause in which we are engaged, — that of promoting the emancipation of three millions of our fellow-beings from a degradation and oppression more cruel than was ever endured by an equal number in any age of the world.

And when it is considered that all this is done in the full blaze of moral light which the gospel has shed upon and around those who practice or uphold this abomination, it is incomparably more sinful in the sight of God than any and all the hated abominations of the degraded heathen world.

We are, brethren, engaged in an enterprise to conduct which to a speedy and glorious consummation demands the efforts as well as united prayers of all the people of God of every denomination. We need also the aid of all who respect the cause of morality; of all who love our free institutions, and desire to have them transmitted unimpaired to posterity; of all who have the slightest regard to our common humanity, and recoil with horror at the efforts of slavery to degrade immortal beings to a level of the brute creation. On what a broad platform may antislavery men stand and work together!

I pity the man, or woman, or child, who is so ignorant in this day of knowledge, that he stands in doubt how to act on this subject; who is so blind in the profusion of light shed upon it as not to discern the path of duty; so selfish as not to appreciate the value of the enterprise; and so perverse as for the sake of sect or party to close their eyes on the iniquity, and wink at this abomination of all abominations. . . . Praying that you may be guided aright, and assuring you that I have lost none of my love for the good cause, that I shall ever adhere to it, and pledging myself to aid it all in my power, and trusting I shall abide by it in life and death,

I subscribe myself (for the slave),

Your friend and servant,

SAMUEL FESSENDEN.





GEN SAMUEL FESSENDEN

General Fessenden in early life was an intimate friend of Daniel Webster, and so remained, till Webster's surrender to the slave power separated them. He was one of the most prominent men of the first generation of Maine, though not political, for the Democratic party was chiefly in the ascendency in this state and in the country, and he was a Whig. As a sound, able lawyer, he probably had no superior in the state, and higher than all was his moral and Christian character. His manners were cultivated; a great, warm heart beat within for humanity, and a high moral integrity and Christian fidelity adorned his life. When the temperance cause appeared it had his support; and when the trumpet sounded for liberty for the oppressed slaves he was a first volunteer; and the extract shows what he was "in life and death." It was of great importance to the cause to have such a man prominent in its leadership. His name afterward was favorably mentioned for a candidate for president.

At the close a meeting of those in favor of the Liberty party was held, at which ten delegates were appointed to the national convention, and a committee was appointed to call a state convention.

Vigorous county meetings now followed. That of the Somerset Society was held at Fairfield February 9 and 10. Resolutions were offered, earnestly discussed, and adopted, strongly affirming the principles and duties of the cause. One said that as both the parties were fully committed to the service of slavery, it was the duty of abolitionists to nominate and vote for men who will exert all their lawful powers for the

overthrow of slavery, and it was unanimously adopted. Seasons of prayer were held, inspiring remarks made, when the meeting was saluted and closed by the choir singing

> "Fight on, ye conquering souls, fight on,
> And when the conquest you have won."

A petition was sent to the legislature for a jury trial for fugitive slaves; another strongly supporting the Advocate. Twenty-six new members were obtained, and a contribution of seventeen dollars and fifty-six cents made for the state society.

Oxford County held a large convention at Norway village, February 16 and 17, at which ten towns were represented, and a county society was formed. C. W. Denison and D. B. Randall were there. The principles and objects of the cause were boldly avowed, the Advocate commended, a season of prayer observed, especially remembering the Africans of the Amistad, and "as no assistance could be expected from present political parties, it is the highest expediency and imperative duty to vote for men of their own selection." It was pledged to raise one hundred and eight dollars in that county toward paying the debt of the state society, and a man chosen in every town to collect the sums assigned, look to the interest of the Advocate, and the good of the cause.

Franklin County Society held its meeting in New Sharon. Mr. Denison was there, and gave an interesting lecture in the evening on "What has the North to do with slaves?" The plan of raising funds by assessment on towns was adopted, and a "Moving Committee" chosen, one in each town, to

make collections, and act for the cause. Contribution, eighteen dollars and twenty-eight cents. The political question was earnestly discussed.

The large meeting held at the close of the state meeting in Hallowell voted to call a State Liberty Convention at Winthrop, the first day of July, and appointed Rev. G. W. Hathaway, Ebenezer Childs, and Zadoc Humphrey, to issue the call.

A convention was held at Kent's Hill a short time before the state election in March, at which Ebenezer Childs of Farmington was nominated for representative to Congress. About four hundred and thirty-five votes were cast for liberty.

The Lincoln County Society held at Woolwich was well attended and effective. It gave a new impulse to the cause in that county.

The tour undertaken next carried me to Bath, where I delivered an address in the evening to a large audience, filling the City Hall, although Rev. Mr. Ellingwood and Rev. Ray Palmer refused to give notice of the occasion. Next came the meeting of the Cumberland County Society at North Yarmouth. It was a success, and clearly showed that the great cause was "marching on."

The past year had been a severe one for antislavery papers, which breasted the proslavery political tempest, exposing the servile allegiance of both the parties to that bloody despotism, and maintained the moral duty of voting for justice. The Advocate of Freedom was published by the state society, and its editor had done a large part of its publication and agency, and published thirty-five hundred tracts,

beside doing much lecturing in the field. Compelled to hold a position in advance of a large part of its supporters, with determined hostility outside, its loss of circulation was considerable, and payments reluctant. But it stood firmly for the right, and soon gained more than it lost.

The inauguration of Harrison took place on the 4th of March, 1841, and his address was awaited with interest as the key of the new administration. Van Buren's servility and that of his party had been important Whig capital at the North, and the appeals for the "more favorable party" had held tens of thousands. What will Harrison say? Essentially the same as Van Buren practiced. He maintained that Congress had no constitutional right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia without the consent of the people there, nor in the territories; "that the agitation by citizens of one part of the Union of subjects not confided to the general government, but exclusively under the guardianship of the local authorities, is productive of no other consequences than bitterness and alienation."

This was unequivocal denial that the government had no powers against slavery, which was "*exclusively*" under state authority. And if so, the action of Congress on petitions, etc., was right. The party must of course stand by its chosen head, and Whig papers which had made the loudest appeals for the "least of two evils," morally, of two devils, now "indorsed every word of the inaugural." (Kennebec Journal.) But where now were the hosts of abolitionists who had voted for him? They began to open

their eyes slowly, and an impending event showed clearly what their votes had done. It was demonstrated that abolitionists had told the truth. Daniel Webster was his Secretary of State.

The Cumberland Antislavery Convention met at North Yarmouth, February 2d and 3d, Arthur Shirley, Chairman, D. B. Randall, Rev. Mr. Gray, J. Ropes, Z. Humphrey, E. Pratt, A. Willey, Rev. Mr. Sewall, Business Committee. Resolutions declared the sinfulness of slavery, the duty of immediate emancipation; that we perform our work in this cause with firm trust in God for success; that an hour be devoted to prayer especially for the Amistad case; that slavery is ruinous to the slave-holder, impoverishing to the nation, destructive to liberty, morality, and religion of the country; that legislative action is essential to its removal, and therefore it is a duty to vote for it; that it is a sin against God to give our political power to the support of slavery; that prejudice against color is cruel, unreasonable, and unjust, and extremely wicked in the house of God; called for more vigorous support of the antislavery press, and the monthly concert of prayer. These were earnestly discussed and adopted, the leading theme being on right voting. The plan was adopted of town assessments for the state society for two hundred and thirty-five dollars, and town agents appointed. The meeting was one of great value.

A correspondent gives an amusing incident. Rev. D. Thurston of Winthrop, Fast Day, 1841, being unable to preach, Rev. Eli Thurston of Hallowell

was engaged to preach in the afternoon. He was a favorite preacher there, and some prominent, well-known persons, fearing he would speak on slavery, arranged for one to meet him on the way, and take him to dinner, then to the church, hoping this social influence would be protective. All took their seats. But the first words of the discourse were, "The dark and damnable sin of slavery," followed by the most pungent invectives against that sin ever heard there. A more crestfallen, restless set of men were never seen, but their professed courtesy compelled them to keep their seats to the close, and give the pleasant good by.

Many thousands of petitions were sent to the Whig legislature. The Bangor Female Society sent near one thousand, asking that it would urge the Maine delegation in Congress to seek the repeal of the gag law, abolition in the District, and a jury trial for fugitives. They were referred to a committee, and Rev. Luther Lee addressed them in support of the petitions with unanswerable ability, but the report was carefully held back until just before adjournment, when it was referred to the next legislature. The inaugural had shut their lips.

The State Committee took prompt action, and issued a call for a "HUMAN RIGHTS STATE CONVENTION," in Winthrop, July 1, 1841, to nominate a state ticket "such as consistency requires abolitionists to favor with their votes." Sixty-six names had already signed it, and more were constantly coming — one hundred in two weeks.

And now occurred a Providential event which

rocked the nation. On the 4th of April, President Harrison is a lifeless corpse! — and John Tyler takes his place in the Presidential chair. Never had death invaded that office before, and the tempest of excitement by which he was elected had scarcely subsided. And the thunder-bolt was ultimately as fatal to his party as to him. It had closed its ears to the cry of weeping millions, surrendered the vital principles of our country's life for party success, and now here they are, with a bigoted slave-holder at their head, and helpless in the grasp of the slave power! But it was only tearing off the screen by which the party had won, and exhibiting it naked before the world. Surely the Almighty "is the avenger of all such as are oppressed." Thousands sightless before, now saw what their ballots had done. They voted for Harrison and behold Tyler is there! — and the blood of the slaves must be on them four years more. Here was the outcome of all their sophistries, delusions, expediencies, excuses by which they had been led and led others. Thought turned to the law of right, and great numbers inclined to the new party of freedom. Some of the most devoted laborers for the cause in Maine were of this class. "The highway was cast up" for its onward march as never before.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONGRESS. SLAVE-TRADE. THE CREOLE. EXCITEMENT. J. R. GIDDINGS CENSURED. RE-ELECTED. CONFLICT. THE NATION'S INFAMY. FUGITIVES. PETITIONS. MASSACHUSETTS. AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE. AWFUL SUFFERING. FINANCIAL BURDEN OF SLAVERY. FLORIDA WAR. THE COUNTRY'S INFAMY. AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTISLAVERY SOCIETY. NATIONAL LIBERTY CONVENTION. THE FLAG RAISED AGAIN. MAINE LIBERTY CONVENTION. NOMINATION OF GOVERNOR. CHANGE OF NAME AND EDITOR OF PAPER. STATE TICKET. ELECTION. VOTES OF STATES.

THE conflict went on in Congress. Mr. Adams moved to rescind the twenty-first rule, — the "gag" rule, — which he said was a Democratic measure. This compelled the Whig House to adopt the motion, but it quickly surrendered to the slave-holders and restored it. Mr. Adams offered petitions in favor of a dissolution of the Union, when a vote of censure for it was offered; and after long and fierce debate it was laid on the table by a majority of thirteen. But at the next session, the gag rule was repealed by a majority of twenty-eight. A few men, Adams, Slade, Morris, had nobly resisted the relentless tyranny ten years.

Serious difficulties were constantly occurring from the coastwise slave-trade, which the government protected as any other commerce. The foreign trade was prohibited as tariff protection to home production, Vessels would get stranded in sailing round the coast to New Orleans, or be compelled to take refuge on

British Islands, where the slaves became free. The slave-holders would call on the government to demand either the slaves or their value, which was promptly done; but Britain refused except to pay for those who thus came before British emancipation. The South was roused, called on Congress, threatened, and charged Great Britain with violating the law of nations.

In 1841 the "Creole" sailed from Virginia to New Orleans with a cargo of one hundred and thirty-five slaves. When near the Bahamas nineteen of the slaves arose, killed the owner, wounded the captain, mate, and several of the crew, took possession and ordered the ship into Nassau. The nineteen were held temporarily for investigation and the others set free. The South was inflamed. It was denounced in Congress as "atrocious," "piratical," "tyrannical insolence," etc. Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, wrote earnestly to the British government for redress, which was refused. England was not an accomplice with slave traffickers.

Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio, recently elected to the House, now boldly confronted the government and the slave power. He offered resolutions affirming what abolitionists maintained, that the national government was for liberty alone; that slavery was limited to states supporting it; that the Creole captives had violated no law of the United States, and that the attempt to enlist the government in support of the slave-trade was a violation of the constitution, and a disgrace to the nation.

The reading caused great excitement and conster-

nation. It was new doctrine there, and to give time for consideration William Pitt Fessenden moved that they lie over till the next day, when he would call them up. But the slave-holders could not wait, and Mr. Botts offered resolutions declaring that the resolutions by Mr. Giddings were "shocking to all sense of law, order, and humanity, deserving the severest condemnation of the people, and of that body in particular." This was laid over till the next day, and an effort made to secure Mr. Giddings a hearing. This was defeated, and the vote of censure passed, one hundred and twenty-five to sixty-nine. Mr. Giddings immediately resigned, left the House, and returned to Ohio. There he issued an address to the people of his district, was re-elected by a largely increased majority, and in five weeks was back again in his seat.

Strong remonstrances from the North, and from unexpected sources, against its action, reached the House and had a marked effect. Mr. Giddings was not allowed to present the resolutions again, but he defended their principles in a powerful speech, before which the slave-holders and their serviles quailed. Perhaps no event did more to open the eyes of the country to its guilt and degradation. The British minister was instructed to hold no correspondence on the subject. Such was our shame! The Christianity of the land had betrayed its trust; "and when the light is darkness, how deep is that darkness!"

But there was a deeper deed of infamy which history cannot equal, nor language describe. By the

treaty of Indian Springs the government paid the slave-holders one hundred and nine thousand dollars for slaves escaped into Florida, and one hundred and forty-one thousand dollars for the offspring which the female slaves would have borne had they remained in bondage. "Be astonished, O Heavens, at this!" And this a glorious land of liberty, a Christian nation, its churches zealous for "preaching the gospel to every creature," filling the land with Bibles and pulpits, yet sustaining this condition of things, and the large majority resisting nearly to persecution the efforts to reform and save our country, and rescue the religion of Christ. No wonder infidelity was nourished by this treachery to true religion, the effects of which are seen to this day, especially in New England. But the chief instrument by which the country was dragged down to the abyss of shame, in paying the breeders for their apprised loss of unborn human stock, was political partyism. On this altar the sacrifice was laid, and history must record the result.

Mr. Giddings brought upon himself fierce insult and malice, his life was threatened, and he escaped only by the interference of others. But he never faltered.

All this turned the thought of the country still more to the great subject, and "when thought is agitated truth rises." The defamed advocates of liberty were only cheered on to greater zeal and effort. God was with them, who could be against them? The escape of fugitive slaves was a constant source of excitement, and kept the country studying slavery. The Constitution gave the owners the right to recover

their fugitives, but that did not compel the people to be their police, nor did it make it criminal to aid the fugitive and construct "underground railroads"; nor did it release the states from the duty of requiring full proof of ownership.

A strong case occurred in Ohio in 1842, which created great interest. A worthy farmer was returning from market in Cincinnati, and took into his wagon nine fugitives. When sixteen miles from the city he was stopped by pursuers, seven seized and held, two escaped. Without legal process the seven were taken back to Kentucky. The kidnappers were prosecuted and acquitted; but the farmer was tried and fined twelve dollars and fifty cents for giving those weary ones a few miles ride. Thomas Morris and S. P. Chase powerfully defended him. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court, and argued by Seward and Chase, but Judge Woodbury, a trained servile, decided against them. "A stranger and they took him not in."

John L. Brown was tried in South Carolina and sentenced to be hung for aiding a female slave to escape. This enormity excited great emotion in England and a petition was sent to the governor for his pardon, signed by thirteen hundred eminent ministers and others, which was granted. Very little sensibility was seen in this country except by abolitionists.

Another case occurred in Boston. By order of Gray, a Virginia slave-holder, Latimer, a colored man, was arrested and put in jail without warrant. A habeas corpus was denied by Chief Justice Shaw. A

jury trial was also refused. The city officials were zealous agents of the slave-holder, and large petitions were sent to the mayor and governor for the removal of both sheriff and jailor. Great meetings were held, with splendid speeches, when the slave-holder saw that he was not to have Latimer, and consented to take four hundred dollars and release him and also surrender his wife.

But the cyclone did not stop with the shouting at the jail when Latimer came out a free man. A petition with sixty-five thousand names went to the legislature for a law forbidding all state officers to take any part in the arrest of fugitive slaves, and to forbid the use of jails or any other property to be used in such cases; also, to request Congress to submit an amendment of the Constitution, releasing the state from all participation in the crime of oppression. This was headed by Latimer and sent to John Quincy Adams, and the one to the legislature to Charles F. Adams, his son. The legislature passed the law required. Mr. Adams offered the petitions to Congress, and moved to suspend the gag rule and receive them, but failed. The request from the legislature, including a reduction of representation to "free persons," he moved to refer to a committee of nine. Now came another tempest of wrath, but he was firm, and reminded the House that the application came from a Democratic legislature of both Houses. The committee was appointed, Mr. Adams chairman. The majority refused to report, but he and Mr. Giddings made a scorching report, and moved to refer the matter to the next session, but the major-

ity voted the whole subject down. In the Senate the resolutions were denounced as "incendiary," "seditious," "worthy only of execration," with a refusal to print—two to one. Such was the insult to Massachusetts, and the neglect of its own senators to defend it brought back the storm, and the legislature passed a vote of censure upon them. All this was effectually disclosing to the country what it needed to know, and helped to prepare it to accept remedial truths. And it answered the political deception that "the North had nothing to do with slavery."

Another conflict occurred in 1842 on the Ashburton treaty, by which the United States agreed to keep a naval force on the coast of Africa of not less than eighty guns and one thousand men for the suppression of the slave-trade. Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, had united in such a treaty, and England had been laboring in vain for such an alliance with this country ever since 1806. After a severe struggle the measure now prevailed, perhaps to get relief from national dishonor. But it was mainly a sham, and its obligations were never fulfilled.

The census of 1840 made a horrible disclosure. The increase of slave population in preceding decades was about thirty per cent, but in the last it was but fifteen per cent. The slaves in 1830 were two million, nine thousand, and forty-three; in 1840 they were two million, three hundred and twenty thousand, three hundred and ninety-three, but with usual increase they would have been two million, six hundred and twenty thousand, four hundred. Here

was a loss of three hundred thousand human beings. The explanation was, that during the earlier part of this period cotton rose to fabulous prices, to thirty and thirty-three cents a pound. The South, especially the cotton states, were excited to frenzy, and as the slaves were "property," it was right to make the most of it, so they were worked and starved to death, and natural increase nearly prevented. The utmost credit was obtained at the North, and all the slaves possible were purchased. Then came reaction; cotton fell to twenty, fifteen, ten, and eight cents a pound, and universal crash and bankruptcy followed. Property lost all value, and plantations were abandoned. What now will become of the poor slaves? They are only *property*, and now worthless and a burden. Their "peck of corn a week" disappears, and they die by tens of thousands. Public discussion in the good times decided that the greatest profit was in "working them out in eight years' average"; what will it be now? Did not that blood "cry from the ground" at last? and was it not heard? Even the governor of South Carolina called it a "reckless system of punishing and driving." Who can conceive the suffering, the agonies, the tears, the cries, which went up to the Almighty from those "fields of blood"! And they were heard.

The study of slavery revealed it as a financial burden to the North, all unperceived. The South depended on the North to a large extent for its food, clothing, and commercial supplies, payable when the cotton was sold. But no community can sustain itself on villainy; and the loss on the southern credit

was immense and disastrous. National banks were shipwrecked by it and the same befell state banks. Boston was almost overwhelmed with bankruptcy by southern failures in 1823, and New York in 1826; and again in 1837, its loss was estimated at one hundred millions, and so with many other places. The South then owed the North three hundred million dollars — a worthless debt. The South only paid some two thirds of what was expended in it through the postal system. Such information showed the people what they had to do with slavery, and the burden it imposed on them.

The Florida war which lasted many years and cost the country forty million dollars and great loss of life, was exclusively in the interests of slavery. Fugitive slaves found refuge among the Indians, and the object was to destroy or drive them off. The history of that war, for which we have not space, was one consecutive history of fraud, cheating, lying, robbery, stealing, and murder. We were the savages. The national guilt and shame was unsurpassed in history.

Take one illustration of it all. Gangs of man-stealers would raid through the Seminole country, seizing and dragging off into Georgia, as slaves, any colored persons they could find. Osceola, a manly young chief, had married the daughter of a woman who had fled from slavery, and these ruffians contrived to grab and carry her off into Georgia, as a slave. Inveterate war followed; this Christian nation taking the side of the man-stealers. "Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?"

The American and Foreign Antislavery Society

held its first annual meeting in New York, May 11, 1841. Joseph Sturge, Esquire, of England, was present, and expressed the deep sympathy in England, with the cause of emancipation in this country. This eminent friend of humanity much increased the interest of the meeting. Officers were chosen: Arthur Tappan, President; F. J. Lemoyne, and J. G. Birney, Vice-presidents; Joshua Leavitt, Secretary; Lewis Tappan, Treasurer. Executive Committee, the same as last year. The meeting was very large.

The National Liberty Convention was held in New York, May 12 and 13, 1841, and organized by electing Alvan Stewart, President; Austin Willey, Maine, Thomas Chadbourne, New Hampshire, C. P. Grosvenor, Massachusetts, James Dean, Vermont, C. W. Turner, Rhode Island, Lewis Beers, junior, Connecticut, C. O. Shepard, New York, J. A. Paine, New Jersey, I. P. Foster, Pennsylvania, W. H. Brisbane, Ohio, C. Chamberlin, Indiana, Vice-presidents; Joshua Leavitt, L. P. Noble, L. Coffin, Secretaries.

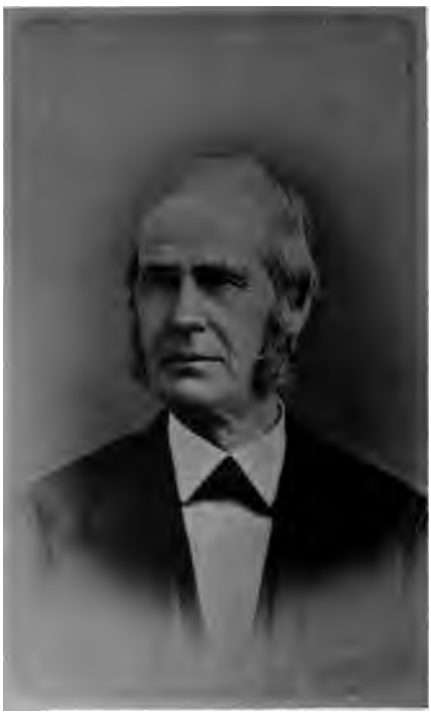
Mr. Leavitt moved that it was expedient to nominate candidates for President and Vice-president for 1844. This was eloquently sustained by Beriah Green, E. Galusha, Alvan Stewart, and others, and unanimously adopted. James G. Birney, of New York, and Thomas Morris, of Ohio, were elected unanimously. These were "recommended to the support and confidence of the people of the United States as deserving the highest honors that can be bestowed upon a people wishing to be free."

The committee then read an address to the people of the United States, elaborate and very able, stating

the principles and reasons for the movement. Committees were chosen, and a plan of organization was adopted, which was, to nominate tickets for all elections, state, county, town, city, ward, district, and that each committee report to the next above till it reaches the national committee. Resolutions were adopted, that the address and plan of action be published as extensively as possible; that petitioning Congress to abolish slavery in the District and the inter-state slave-trade be continued; requesting the President to liberate his slaves; urging the support of faithful papers; that the party be called the Liberty party; and that the convention adjourn for two years.

This early, bold action kept the great question of the ballot *versus* slavery before the people, and showed them where to go when convinced of duty, and closed our own ranks against all seductive or hostile pressure. The "seven thousand" are still in the field, their flag flying, and organized for a four years' contest. The reliability of this new movement was now beyond question. Another important object was gained. A strong practical issue was made up, on which the people could effectively meet the slave power. The need of this was obvious. They could see the atrocity of slavery, weep with its victims, petition against it, and demand the moral force of the country for its overthrow; but this last was impossible. Petitioning without the ballot was hopeless; what could they do? Voting with the old parties would never disturb it. But now every man can meet it face to face with the ballot, — the mightiest power in human hands, — and the sublime object of





Yours truly
Lemuel Page

HELIOTYPE PRINTING CO., BOSTON.

creating a new political power to take the government and restore it to liberty, would be an inspiration. Mr. Calhoun said that abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia would destroy the system.

These facts were now obvious all over the free states. Conventions were held, large and earnest. Organization followed, with constant increase of numbers, as the self-revelation of slavery, and the hopeless subserviency of both political parties went on. New York now repealed its law permitting slaveholders to hold their slaves in the state nine months, and the Supreme Court of Ohio decided that a slave, stepping on its soil with consent of the owner, was thenceforth free. This broke up summer haunts, and liberty "is moving on."

The Baptist Triennial Convention carefully excluded abolitionists from any official place on the boards of benevolent societies. The Presbyterian General Assembly (old school) rejected the cause of the slaves in every form, and Methodists formed a new missionary society clear from "the price of blood."

The call for a Maine Liberty Convention in a few weeks received over four hundred names. Hartford sent sixty, New Sharon forty-one, Topsham twenty-six, Smyrna twenty, Sumner eighteen, Camden seventeen. The convention was held in Winthrop, July 1, 1841, and its large number was a surprise to all. It was the first State Political Convention for liberty held in Maine. Eleazer Coburn of Bloomfield, was chosen President; Simon Page of Hallowell, and Mr. Cram of New Sharon, Secretaries; S. May, J. C. Lovejoy, W. Stickney, J. Cook, C. G. Parsons, C. T.

Torrey, A. Willey, Committee of Arrangements. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Adlam. The call was read by Austin Willey.

Resolutions reported and discussed approved the nomination of James G. Birney and Thomas Morris for President and Vice-president, and pledged the utmost support. "That the Creator has endowed all men with inalienable rights, and authorized civil government for their protection; and whenever it fails to meet, or becomes hostile to this high design, its moral basis is removed, and takes an attitude opposed to the Supreme Government of the Universe:" That the statesman who has not learned the duty and safety of the immediate abolition of slavery is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Afternoon: prayer by Rev. S. Curtis of New Hampshire. It was voted "to proceed to the nomination of a candidate for governor who is worthy to receive the suffrages of all who love liberty, and desire the equality of all men before the law. Jeremiah Curtis of Calais received one hundred and thirteen of one hundred and twenty votes, and was unanimously nominated. A state central committee was appointed, and a chairman of each senatorial district. Weekly meetings for discussion and lectures were urged. Resolutions declared slavery a system of pauperism and crime, and its immediate abolition demanded by the moral and pecuniary welfare of the people; that for this all reliance on the Whig and Democratic parties was utterly vain, and that adherence to them was supporting slavery.

Legislative nominations followed all over the state, and county and local antislavery societies held their

regular meetings with increasing numbers and interest. A succession of tracts, filled with great speeches and other able documents, were printed and widely circulated. One was an address to the people of Maine by a committee, written by Professor Smyth.

Rev. C. P. Torrey from Massachusetts made a lecturing tour in the state of much value to the cause. Bear him in mind. The name of the paper was now changed to *Liberty Standard*, and a fund raised for its support. I took the field as agent for the society for the year, and J. C. Lovejoy, the editorship.

Names of candidates for state senators on the Liberty ticket in 1841: *Kennebec*, Henry McCrillis, Jacob Southwick, Paul Stickney, S. Benjamin; *Franklin*, Charles Morse; *Somerset*, Eleazer Coburn, Edward Gilkey; *Oxford*, George French, G. W. Chapman, N. A. Bradbury; *Piscataquis*, David Shepard; *Washington*, Samuel Kelley; *Penobscot*, Isaac Childs, H. N. Page, Abel Ruggles; *Cumberland*, Thomas Brown, S. A. Parsons, James Appleton, Daniel Hall; *Lincoln*, Samuel Pickard, John Boynton, John Raymond jr., Samuel Jackson; *Waldo*, Albert Shaw, Benjamin Jones.

The official count for governor in 1841 stood: Total, 86,151. For John Fairfield, (Dem.) 47,354; Edward Kent (Whig), 36,790; Jeremiah Curtis, 1,662. Such was the increase from 194 for the national ticket, in one year. As this was the first elective contest for the redemption of the state from servile alliance with the guiltiest despotism on earth to glorious liberty, the official vote by counties and towns is now given to history.



GOVERNOR VOTE, 1841.

YORK.		KENNEBEC.		Cornville,	11
Berwick,	2	Albion,	8	Embden,	2
Buxton,	9	Augusta,	16	Fairfield,	14
Cornish,	5	China,	4	Harmony,	1
Kennebunk,	5	Clinton,	1	Madison,	24
Limington,	2	Fayette,	3	Mercer,	12
Parsonsfield,	8	Gardiner,	27	New Portland,	44
Saco,	7	Greene,	3	Norridgewock,	18
Sanford,	1	Hallowell,	41	Solon,	18
South Berwick,	21	Leeds,	23	St. Albans,	8
CUMBERLAND.		Litchfield,	14	Starks,	6
Bridgton,	17	Monmouth,	7	Skowhegan,	9
Brunswick,	3	Pittston,	5	Range 4,	12
Cumberland,	1	Readfield,	1	FRANKLIN.	
Danville,	3	Vassalboro,	7	Avon,	4
Falmouth,	2	Waterville,	28	Berlin,	7
Freeport,	27	Wayne,	16	Chesterville,	8
Gorham,	16	Winslow,	9	Farmington,	19
Gray,	3	Winthrop,	40	Industry,	9
Harrison,	1	PENOBSCOT.		New Vineyard,	2
Minot,	17	Argyle,	3	Phillips,	12
New Gloucester,	3	Bangor,	66	Salem,	1
North Yarmouth,	61	Bradford,	4	Strong,	11
Poland,	10	Brewer,	10	Temple,	6
Portland,	35	Carmel,	2	Weld,	2
Standish,	1	Corinna,	4	Wilton,	20
Westbrook,	5	Corinth,	2	Range 2,	3
Windham,	6	Charleston,	3	PISCATAQUIS.	
LINCOLN.		Dexter,	1	Abbot,	4
Bath,	7	Dixmont,	2	Atkinson,	5
Bowdoin,	3	Exeter,	1	Barnard,	2
Bowdoinham,	13	Garland,	3	Bowerbank,	6
Bristol,	3	Hampden,	20	Blanchard,	11
Jefferson,	2	Hermon,	5	Brownville,	4
Lewiston,	3	Levant,	1	Dover,	20
Lisbon,	1	Lincoln,	1	Foxcroft,	14
Phipsburg,	5	Maxfield,	2	Guilford,	17
Richmond,	8	Orono,	2	Kilmarnock (Medford),	2
Thomaston,	10	OXFORD.		Milo,	21
Topsham,	27	Bethel,	17	Monson,	10
Union,	3	Brownfield,	1	Orneville,	9
Warren,	1	Buckfield,	5	Sebec,	2
Whitefield,	1	Canton,	3	Williamsburg,	3
Wiscasset,	6	Denmark,	13	ARGOOSTOOK.	
Woolwich,	31	Dixfield,	1	Hodgdon,	1
HANCOCK.		Fryeburg,	17	Smyrna,	6
Bucksport,	8	Gilead,	5	Weston,	1
Castine,	6	Hartford,	65	WALDO.	
Mt. Desert,	2	Hebron,	28	Belfast,	2
Orland,	1	Livermore,	19	Belmont,	1
Seaville,	1	Lovell,	6	Brooks,	4
Sedgwick,	1	Norway,	5	Burnham,	14
WASHINGTON.		Oxford,	2	Camden,	15
Alexander,	11	Paris,	18	Frankfort,	2
Baileyville,	1	Peru,	29	Freedom,	2
Baring,	4	Sumner,	34	Jackson,	6
Calais,	12	Sweden,	6	Liberty,	3
East Machias,	7	Turner,	11	Lincolnville,	1
Lubec,	8	Waterford,	24	Prospect,	11
Machias,	1	SOMERSET.			
Meddybemps,	1	Anson,	2		
Pembroke,	14	Bloomfield,	21	Total,*	1662
Princeton,	1	Cambridge,	1		

*This is not the actual footing, but the official count was 1662.

No roll of volunteers to Bunker Hill merits more gratitude from the state and nation than these, and scarcely was more courage required. Reproach, hostility, defamatory epithets, loss of social position, and often of business, reputation slandered, and storms of party contempt, were their lot, but they defied it all like Luther, and boldly did their duty. There were the three millions crying to heaven for relief, and our country was in greater jeopardy than it was at Gettysburgh, however unperceived. Nothing could save it without the ballot, and there stand the one thousand six hundred and sixty-two, mustered the first year in Maine, enrolled for the war, and armed with the weapon which

> "Executes the freeman's will
> As lightning does the will of God."

The tree of liberty was now planted, and history will watch its growth. As agent for the cause, every energy was employed by us with the people, by lectures, debates, organization, and the widest distribution of the ablest documents. The people were to a large extent ready to hear the truth, and meetings were full and sometimes very large. That year was one of great value to me ever after for personal intercourse and acquaintance with the people. The Whig party in the state was swept overboard almost entirely, which gave time for thought. The elections of that year showed the rising power of liberty. Maine had gone from one hundred and ninety-four in 1840 to one thousand, six hundred and sixty-two in 1841; New Hampshire, from one hundred and eleven to two thousand; Vermont, from three hundred and

nineteen to three thousand, one hundred and twenty-eight; Illinois, from one hundred and fifty-nine to five hundred and thirty-seven; Pennsylvania, from three hundred and forty-three to eight hundred and eighteen; Ohio, from nine hundred and three to one thousand, seven hundred and eighty-two; Massachusetts to three thousand, nine hundred; New York to six thousand; and other states in proportion. Politicians began to study this, and antislavery people were constantly coming to the Liberty party as fair argument proceeded. The Liberty vote of that year was about twenty-two thousand.

At the extra session of Congress in 1841 the gag rule was repealed, but the committee appointed to revise the rules of the House reported at the opening of the regular session including the gag, and the report was adopted. Here was the Whig party with its majority in the House, after all its professions and promises! Maine had one yea — Clifford, a Democrat; while three Democrats, Littlefield, Lowell, Marshall, voted nay, with Fessenden and Randall, Whigs; and two Whigs, Allen and Bronson, were absent. So despised abolition had reduced Maine serviles to one on this issue. Ballots did it.

Mr. Giddings presented petitions from Ohio, for the repeal of all laws protecting slavery in vessels of the United States, on the sea in the coastwise slave-trade. Moved to lay on the table, debated, passed, — one hundred and four to eighty-six. He presented others for a repeal of all laws and provisions of the Constitution by which the people of the free states were held to the support of slavery. Wise of

Virginia raised the question of reception, and moved to lay on the table, passed, — one hundred and four to eighty-six. He also presented petitions against the admission of any new slave state; shared the same. Mr. Giddings said that he had more that ten thousand similar petitions, but he should not "present them there but submit them to the people to decide how far they would submit to such indignities." Others presented petitions which were treated in the same way. Mr. Slade of Vermont presented preamble and resolutions adopted by the legislature of that state, but the motion to receive them was laid on the table, eighty-four to sixty-six. Mr. Mattocks of Vermont said he had a large number of petitions from the voters of that state "for the abolition of slavery in the District, which if this were Liberty Hall he would present them, but as it was Slavery Hall [rapping boldly on his desk] he would put them in his pocket." Petitions from other states were treated in the same way by that Whig House. Especially was the war on Mr. Adams of Massachusetts long and fierce. The attempt was made to expel him, but it failed.

Mr. Giddings disclosed the fact that the government had paid about two thousand dollars a year for a dozen years to Indians for capturing fugitives. Also a bill, officially signed, of eight hundred and seventy-two dollars and sixty-two cents for conveying a fugitive slave from New York to Charleston, South Carolina. But such information was kept from the people at the North for party safety.

CHAPTER XV.

STATE MEETINGS. NOMINATION FOR GOVERNOR. GENERAL APPLETON. LADIES' FAIR. OTHER STATES. MAINE LEGISLATURE. FIELD WORK. OPPOSITION. SLAVERY AND MISSIONS. RELIGIOUS CONVENTIONS. EDITORSHIP RESUMED. THE OUTLOOK. WASHINGTONIANISM. THE GOVERNMENT FOUNDED ON RELIGION. ITS APOSTASY. ITS RECOVERY. MORAL ELEVATION OF THE LIBERTY PARTY. YORK. SOMERSET. LEAVITT. STEWART. STATE CONVENTION. VOTE OF 1842. COLONIZATION. CONGREGATIONAL CONVENTION. THE GREAT ISSUE.

THE Sixth Annual Meeting of the Maine Anti-slavery Society was held in Hallowell, February 3 and 4, 1842, General Fessenden, President, in the chair. Prayer by Rev. J. T. Hawes. Committee of Arrangements, Deacon Talbot, C. L. Remond, A. Willey, J. E. Godfrey, E. R. Warren. The annual report was read by J. C. Lovejoy, Professor Smyth being absent. Special prayer was offered by Rev. David Thurston, for our nation, and for John Quincy Adams, whom the slave-holders had made a desperate effort to crush and expel. Rev. Eli Thurston of Hallowell delivered an impressive address on "Church action in reference to slavery in the United States."

A debt was reported of six hundred and sixty-five dollars for the payment of which a successful plan was adopted, when all joined in singing, "Praise God," etc. A large committee was appointed to prepare a letter to Mr. Adams expressing sympathy and approbation of his course in Congress on the right of petition. General Fessenden, chairman. Officers

elected for the year: General Fessenden, President; Professor Smyth, Secretary; S. Page, Recording Secretary; P. Stickney, Treasurer; with a Vice-president from each county. Executive Committee, David Thurston, Ebenezer Dole, Austin Willey, S. Adlam, D. B. Randall.

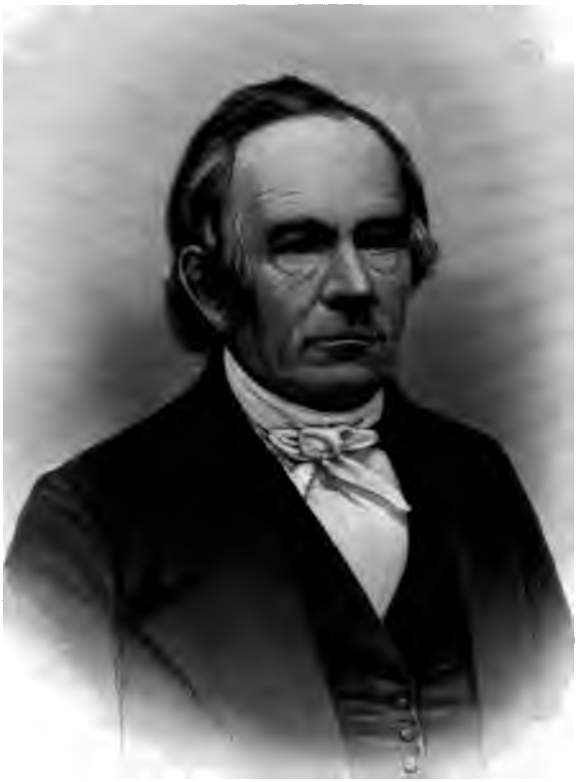
The meeting was large, able, resolute. A long series of resolutions was reported, ably discussed, and adopted. They assert that "the sum of all villainies" is generally received into the fellowship of American Christians, and there derives its moral support, and those ministers and Christians who will not engage in its immediate expulsion are unfaithful servants of Christ; that "there is no neutrality in morals," and every man is either pro-slavery or antislavery; that the efforts of the pro-slavery government to quadruple the navy in the interest of slavery, and chiefly at the expense of the North, is cause for deep concern; that an equal permanent currency is impossible in a country, one-half resting on free and one-half on slave labor; that "we view with great interest the increasing zeal of the antislavery women of Maine"; that a state agent is indispensable to the cause; that thanksgiving to God is due for the decision of the Amistad and Creole cases.

The executive committee of the society voted to endeavor to raise fifteen hundred dollars for the year's work, and appointed D. Thurston, A. Willey, and S. Adlam, a committee to publish tracts; recommended that the Fourth of July be used for liberty; urged energetic county action, and continued the state agency of A. Willey.

A Liberty convention was held on the day following, February 5, at the same place, to nominate a candidate for governor. Ebenezer Childs, Esquire, was chosen President, and W. Hastings and S. P. Appleton, Secretaries. A vote was taken and General Appleton of Portland received one hundred and five of one hundred and twenty-four, and was declared the candidate for governor. Resolutions were adopted, urging "all good citizens to unite with us under the Liberty banner for the purpose of rescuing our country, state and nation, from the control of slavery; that the past interference of the government of the United States in support of slavery is unauthorized by the Constitution, is a disgraceful assumption of power, and a gross insult to the people of the Union, that the adhesion of the two political parties to the interests of slavery for more than fifty years, and the recent attempt in Congress to browbeat the champion of the right of petition, and also the interests of free labor, conclusively prove that there ought to be henceforth and forever a divorce of this government from slavery; that we are in the field and will not lay down our weapons until our efforts are crowned with success"; that it is of vital importance to the Liberty party seasonably to make their own nominations for all elective offices, and then to sustain them with uncompromising fidelity." A committee was appointed to issue an address to the people. State committee, Seth May, J. E. Godfrey, G. Ropes, B. H. Cushman, A. Willey, W. Hastings, W. R. Prescott.

These meetings were well attended from a large





James Appleton

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part of the state, although the weather was very unfavorable. There was no railroad to Hallowell then, but people came long distances in loaded sleighs, and were gladly entertained — on the carpet at night when the beds were filled. They were the most effective antislavery meetings ever held in the state. Fair discussion, information, and thought had brought nearly all true antislavery people in the state into harmony on the question of a Liberty party, and the same hands pressed on the activities of both systems. The convention was harmonious and vigorous, and nominated the right man.

General James Appleton was a self-made man, intelligent, of solid ability, high integrity, and excellence of character. Whatever was right was sure of his support, whether temperance or antislavery or anything else. He was genial, polite, fraternal, and one of the people, while superior to most; and he was well known in the state and the legislature. All knew his fitness for the office, and that he was a true and worthy representative of the great cause for which he was nominated.

The Ladies' Fair that year was prepared by the society in Hallowell, and held in connection with the state meetings. Ladies from Bangor, Augusta, Winthrop, New Sharon, and other towns co-operated, and many fine articles were sent from England. It was a splendid success, and secured three hundred dollars for the cause. The city hall was beautifully decorated.

The work of the year now began with an energy never before equalled. County and local meetings

rallied all over the state, and not for talk alone, but for systematic work; and all centering in the one object of informing the people. And other states were active. Ohio held a powerful convention and nominated Judge Leicester King for governor, one of the most eminent and solid men in the state, and a former Whig. Ex-Senator Morris was prominent in the convention, a former Democrat; and S. P. Chase wrote the able address to the people. He had recently enlisted in the cause of freedom. A power was now in the field in that state. New York held a convention at Peterborough — the largest ever held in the state. Alvan Stewart was nominated for governor. There were four hundred delegates. Union and determination were its features. The old parties were trembling.

Massachusetts held a great convention in Boston, of five hundred delegates, to nominate a candidate for governor. The most eloquent men were there, such as H. B. Stanton, William Goodell, Luther Lee, Colver, Denison, and Remond. An evening session was held in Faneuil Hall, and in spite of a fierce storm two thousand were there, and the old walls echoed to liberty as in the days of the Revolution. John Pierpont was nominated, but declined, although supporting the party, and William Jackson was substituted. So the heroic endeavor to raise a new political power to rescue the government from fatal perversion, and restore it to its old foundation of the Declaration and the Constitution, was growing in strength far beyond anticipation. A large portion of the Whig party repudiated the Tyler administration;

but could not get relief from the responsibility of electing him.

The legislature of Maine in 1842 appointed a joint committee on the right of petition, which reported, that the right of petition was secured to the people in the most ample manner in the Constitution, and that implies the duty of respectful hearing; that the rule of the House of Representatives in Congress on the subject of slavery is an infringement of that right and of the oaths of members, and ought to be repealed. After long effort to prevent action and lay on the table, the House passed the resolutions seventy-seven to seventy-three, but they were lost in the Senate, sixteen to eleven. The ballots for liberty that year carried them through the House by their influence, but defeat in the Senate would satisfy the slaveholders.

After the state meetings the agent went to York County, where little had been done for the cause, and where hostile religious and political influences were strong. I lectured in Buxton, Hollis, Waterborough, Wells, North Berwick, several places in Sanford, Kennebunk, and Alfred. A county meeting met in the Baptist church in Wells. It was well attended, and exerted a powerful influence. Four lectures were delivered in the town, the hall in the village was freely granted, but after two lectures a political breeze closed it, but entreaty opened it once more only. Some disturbance was heard outside, howling, etc. The next meeting was in a private house. "The Baptist minister, Mr. Barron, took strong hold for the cause, but Congregational ministers were laboring to

kill it." The influence of religious papers in the state was a great obstacle to the righteous cause. The women gave notice of a meeting to form a society.

At Sanford, Rev. Mr. Bourne gave Sabbath afternoon and evening to the cause. At Alfred, request for Sabbath evening was refused for an address on slavery, but one on the "Music of the Church" was given. Notice was given for a lecture on Monday evening, but such opposition rose as to cause refusal, — it would not do even to ring the bell, — and the meeting was held in a school-house. After it commenced noise was heard outside the house, a pistol was fired, and the house fastened. It was said that a political deacon had caused the trouble. Antislavery church members were grieved, distressed, and knew not what to do. But York was heard from next fall. At Damariscotta Bridge the meeting was large, and at the next meeting Democrats got in a noisy crowd who delayed the address with insults and rage. Dr. Hall defended slavery and said all the government had done for it was constitutional. It was a blessing to the country. At the close a row was avoided by my leaving at another door amidst hissing, cursing, damning abolitionists, niggers, etc., and the village resounded as with yells of demons. At Damariscotta Mills no house could be had for a lecture, and a mob was threatened. Two lectures to large audiences in Bristol gave the cause a strong hold there. Such were specimens of work in the field.

The American Baptist Antislavery Convention, held this year in Boston three days, was of extraor-

dinary interest. Its leading work was to effect a separation from their Foreign Missionary Society on account of its connection with slavery and slave-holders, without separating from the cause of missions. Union with slave-holders in the cause of missions implied fellowship with them, and receiving their money was receiving the price of blood. Beside, their national society had by agreement decided to exclude from its offices all abolitionists. That convention organized a new provisional board cleared of all these difficulties until the old board was disposed to unite on their basis. It had a powerful influence on the denomination in bringing it to the position of no fellowship with slave-holders. The same attitude of missionary boards of other denominations, Congregationalists, and Methodists, in respect to slavery, was a source of great difficulty, and led to new organizations. The American Missionary Association is one result of it. The second anniversary of the American and Foreign Antislavery Society was held in New York. It was large, full of interest and encouragement.

A Congregational Antislavery Convention was held in Boston in May. A number from Maine were there. Rev. Dr. Osgood was chosen President. Discussions were able, and the positions maintained sound and true. It declared that the Divine appointment of the church and ministry was "for removing every form of sin from the world"; that "to apologize for the sin of slave-holding, or refuse to take open ground against it, was to become deeply involved in its guilt." The relations of benevolent societies to

slavery were stated and rebuked, especially the American Board, which had a slave-holding missionary. Three committees were appointed to report at an adjourned meeting. First. On the duty of churches and ministers to the slaves,—Rev. D. Thurston, Rev. T. N. Lord, Rev. D. Sewall, all of Maine. Second. The duty of Abolitionists as members of churches which refuse or neglect action on slavery. Third. On the duty of benevolent societies on slavery.

The Baptist Antislavery Convention held its fourth annual meeting in Turner. It reaffirmed its principles, gave thanks for the encouraging progress of the cause, and sustained the action of their national convention. The Bangor Gazette was commenced in May, J. E. Godfrey, editor. It was another Liberty paper in the state. Mr. Godfrey was a man of ability and worth, and an early and true friend of freedom.

The state agent spent the season in traveling over most of the counties, attending county meetings and conventions and local meetings, lecturing and debating from one to four or five times in a place, disturbing the politicians, instructing the people, distributing documents, and arousing the people to action. Meetings were generally full and attentive, and decided action followed. Of course hostility must be accepted, for he "came not to send peace but a sword." While in Bath, lecturing to crowded houses, I learned a significant fact. At a prayer-meeting on Fast day a member of Rev. Ray Palmer's church asked prayers for the slaves, and prayed himself. Another, a new convert, followed, thanking God for

instituting slavery and asked his blessing on it. Thus he was received into the church. Ministers and members of other denominations heartily co-operated in the work except Congregational, but not even a notice could be given there.

But the weariness of the work had a rich reward. We endeavored to stand close by the helpless slaves "as bound with them," and pleaded for them as commanded by Him. This privilege was joy enough even with all the sacrifice required. But there was another joy, that of meeting the people, forming so large acquaintance with them and their homes, and receiving their sympathy and good cheer, especially from the women. And it aided the judgment in the prosecution of the cause — what it was, "counting the cost," the desperate forces to be overcome, the courage, the self-sacrifice, the necessity of giving strict truth the utmost power of the "sharp, two-edged sword" without malice. Isaiahs and Amoses were demanded to "Blow the trumpet in Zion" and throughout the state, instead of the gopher-philosophy of a theological professor "to work silently and underground"! One of the great conflicts of history was upon us, and God was at the front. Fidelity was victory.

In August 1842, the Liberty Standard closed its first year. It began with one thousand dollars subscription fund which it was thought would carry it on to a self-supporting basis. But instead of this the fund was all expended without reaching that position. The state committee, with others, met and consulted. It had never paid expenses, and if it failed the cause

must go down with it. Mr. Lovejoy resigned. I then was invited to the editorship, and took the paper on to my own hands though with no capital of my own. The committee gladly accepted the offer, raised a small amount, and the paper never failed of its regular issue till the work was done. The kind liberality of friends to myself and family was important assistance. I did the editing and chiefly the business work of the paper, beside attending conventions and lecturing extensively.

I was not unaware of what this meant. Beside the odium and hostility under which the holy cause still struggled on other grounds, war was now opened in the political field, and with the paper I had fought the first battle of 1840, supported by a small fraction of our own friends. As we have seen, politicians discerned danger from the first tendencies of the cause toward the ballot. Now when we had taken the field against them, organized and armed for relentless war, that hostility became desperate ; and having no argument, resort was had to personal epithets of slander, reproach, contempt, vituperation, and malice, especially upon the editor of the paper. Excepting a small fraction of individuals, the execration of the state was his lot. The year spent in the field had not much abated this hostility according to the testimony of worthy Deacon Clark of Limerick forty years after, when he said that he heard me lecture there many times, "and there was no one in Maine whom the proslavery men hated to see in a place so bad as Austin Willey, for he used them up so badly they never could answer him." If so the intention was not a failure.

The political condition of the state made a severe conflict inevitable. The Whigs had no possibility of success with the Liberty party in the field. This made them desperate for its destruction. The Democrats who had been once defeated for their servility, well knew that they could not long withstand the issues of liberty. Their policy was that of contempt and repudiation, while the Whigs, notwithstanding the Tyler administration, still kept up the more pernicious professions of being "the more favorable party," and that the objects must be gained, if at all, through them. And saddest, most depressing of all, was the religious hostility which fed and sustained the political. None was more bitter and inveterate. No section of society was more determined to crush out the whole movement than this around the communion table, and from no source was reproach more severe. All else was easily borne compared with this.

Here was the condition to be met, and to be endured. The artillery power of the press must stand at the front. Would the means of support for paper and family be possible? Only confidence in friends and the God of the oppressed whose voice it was to reiterate, justified the decision.

Carefully avoiding all personalities in discussion, and all unfairness, incivility, or prejudice, the truth, the whole truth, must be spoken in a love that gives the "two-edged sword" its most fatal power. The conflict was between the most relentless despotism and liberty, between Christianity and paganism, between God and Satan. No smooth words must be heard. As Burke says, "To speak of atrocious

crimes in mild language is treason to virtue." But the cries of the oppressed millions permitted no delay. Duty called. Maine must be released from participation in the guilt and shame of man stealing, of woman whipping, of baby stealing, and lifted up to humanity, to justice and honor; and the sublime achievement was entered on with increased energy and confidence of success. A great victory for the King of kings was impending.

The cause was moving with increasing force. General unanimity had been reached in favor of a new party, county conventions for nominations were held in every county in the state, and full tickets made. Town organizations were multiplying, which were to enroll every Liberty voter, and each pledged to get at least one more. The colored people held a convention in Portland and organized a state convention, which was fraternally recognized.

The Washingtonian temperance movement was now at flood tide, and was, as imagined, about to sweep intemperance from the earth by "moral suasion." It occurred to somebody, probably politicians, that this policy might be carried into the antislavery cause and prevent voters from leaving the old parties, and a Washingtonian Antislavery Society was formed in Augusta with the "pledge of our best exertions, by *moral suasion alone*, to persuade all men to adopt the principles of the Declaration of Independence." But common sense soon disposed of it, as it did of that superficial system. Had the temperance cause cast off the fear of political partyism and demanded the legitimate power of ballots and of law instead of fol-

lowing successive inventions with "Lo here! and Lo there!" it would not have so nearly wasted half a century of effort.

History must not fail to notice one peculiar feature of the antislavery cause in its political department. The government of the nation, unlike any other that ever existed, was founded directly on the Christian religion. It received the rights to be protected from the Creator's hand, and organized a government as he commands for their protection. All was from his authority, and the nation asked his aid, and in his name swore fidelity to the solemn trust. Slavery had dragged it down to apostasy and perjury, and the current sentiment of the country was, "Religion has nothing to do with politics"; and its civil life fully demonstrated the fact.

The founders of the Liberty party went back to where the Fathers stood, and undertook to restore the nation to its original moral elevation. They affirmed that God was the author of civil government, his law the rule of its administration, and that law positively commanded the voters who now held the sovereignty to "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof," to the full extent of their legal power. It found in the Bible not only the objects of government, but the character of the men to be intrusted with it, and that this utterly excluded slave-holders and their allies. They must be "just men," to receive a single ballot by His consent. These principles were fundamental in the platforms and resolutions of the party, and its press sustained them, whole editorial articles sometimes being

made up of scripture quotations in respect to politics and government. On this high plane it grew to power.

It was a new kind of politics in American history, and the cry of opponents was loud — "Religion has nothing to do with politics!" "Church and state!" "It is as impossible to unite religion and politics as it is Christ and Belial." (Argus.) Ministers who ventured to preach this part of the Bible found much difficulty, and some lost their places. But this high moral element was retained when the Republican party, which was but the outgrowth of the Liberty party, took the government, and largely until its elections of 1868, when it disappeared. But this model of high Christian endeavor must be recalled, the jurisdiction of God's law over politics and government asserted and firmly maintained at the polls, where only it can enter our civil life, or the nation must perish. It is dying now because the "salt" is not there. The membership of the Christian church, with their vows of allegiance to him who is to be "King of kings," and who has ordained civil government as an institution for that object, and with the elective sovereignty in their *individual* hands, now leave the whole subject to office-seeking and mercenary ambition, and fall into line under the leadership of whoever will get the most votes for "our party," after consulting the saloons. Who now will "Blow the trumpet in the land," and save it again?

York County for the first time held a Liberty convention at Alfred, August 23. It was well attended. Nominations for senators, Dr. J. S. Goodwin, Lyman,

Theo. Wells, Wells ; with a full county ticket. County committee, L. P. Hilliard, J. Stackpole, L. Gooding. Its resolutions, beside other things, declared "that it was the object of the Federal Constitution to secure the blessings of liberty to our country, and the Liberty party was laboring to fulfill this purpose; that the support of the twenty-first rule [the gag], in Congress by both the old parties, one by enactment, the other by re-enactment, is sufficient cause why every patriot should separate himself from both."

Another state Liberty convention was held in Bangor, September 1 and 2, 1842, of extraordinary power. It was the first in that part of the state, and Joshua Leavitt and Alvan Stewart were there. Letters, also, from J. R. Giddings and C. T. Torrey. Hon. S. M. Pond was President, and Asa Walker and Z. Washburn, Secretaries. The business committee were General Fessenden, J. E. Godfrey, Mr. Leavitt, Mr. Verry, and General Hall. The meeting was held in the First Congregational church in the day-time, and in the evenings in Hammond street church which was well filled.

A series of very strong resolutions were the themes of discussion by Stewart, Leavitt, Fessenden, Walker, Lincoln, Willey, Godfrey. Prominent points were: "That slavery is an everlasting disturbing force which governs the nation, and must be abolished, or the liberties of the free states will be entirely subverted ; that we have formed the Liberty party, not without sacrifices, nor without a deep sense of the obstacles to be overcome before we succeed, but with a full conviction that it is the only thing which can be done,

and with a fixed determination to persevere until we do succeed, and with a confident hope that through the blessing of God the victory will be given us, and the country be saved ; that we recommend to the friends of liberty in every town not to wait for agents or other help from abroad, but at once to divide the town into districts and organize themselves into committees to go, two and two, from house to house, and explain to their neighbors the reasons why it is their duty to vote the Liberty ticket, and obtain as many as possible to the Liberty roll" ; that abolitionists ought not to patronize papers, political or religious, opposed to their cause; and pledged a vigorous support of Liberty papers. The convention also warmly indorsed the nomination of General James Appleton for governor.

Rev. Mr. Leavitt was a strong, able writer and speaker, of clear, convincing logic, fair and respectful in style, and fearless for the right. It is doubtful if any other journalistic pen had more power on the public mind than his for the great cause. No just reports of Congress on slavery being obtainable, he got assistance and went to Washington as reporter for his own paper, which reports the antislavery press gladly copied. This did the cause great service. He was one of "the first three."

Alvan Stewart was a lawyer by profession, a man of solid, Christian character, bold for the right, with great argumentative ability wrapped up in keen, entertaining, and often amusing dress. He was one of the heroes in originating the Liberty party. One recollection of him is characteristic. At an anniver-

sary in New York we heard him make a speech on the toleration of slavery and polygamy in missionary churches, and in reply to the objection that a man with two wives might love both, and could not tell which to put away, he said with emphasis, "I affirm that no man ever loved two women at the same time!" Great applause, and that objection was never heard of again.

Mr. Leavitt wrote to his paper, the Emancipator, now in Boston:

I find here, as at Skowhegan, the countenances of the old politicians a good deal lengthened by the movements of the Liberty party. It is difficult to describe the sensitiveness here. It was Seminary week, and Rev. Dr. Hawes, of Connecticut, preached a sermon in one of the churches on the immortality of the soul. In an inference he said he would as soon think of holding an angel as property as an immortal man. Had an earthquake suddenly shaken the everlasting rocks on which the clay banks of Bangor recline, the audience could not have been more startled. The editor of the Bangor Whig sternly rebuked it in his paper. It was a prostitution of the pulpit to the dirty work of politics. But I tell these people they may as well stop before they begin, for there are ministers in Maine who cannot be scared by owls or geese. This class of men will of course be vociferous against the formation of a party based on moral principle.

A convention had been called by the Liberty committee of Somerset County at Skowhegan, immediately preceding the convention at Bangor, in this way securing Mr. Leavitt, whom I accompanied there. Rev. Mr. Wilson, missionary to the colored fugitives in Canada, Rev. Mr. Noyes, missionary to India, were also present, and a richer meeting had not been held in the state. It was harvest time, but the farmers left their fields and thronged to Skowhegan, some coming twenty and thirty miles and from other counties.

Prominent points of resolutions and discussion were: That the principles of the Declaration and preamble of the Constitution had been disregarded by the government; that the subserviency of the government to slavery was too disastrous to all the interests of the country to be longer endured by the people; that the Liberty party is no experiment, but to be adhered to unfalteringly until success crowns our efforts; that the antislavery cause is inseparable from morality and true religion, therefore hostility or indifference to it is disregard of both; that the condition of the slaves claims the warmest sympathy and generous aid of all men; that the friends of Liberty are bound to do their utmost in every town and school district to bring our whole strength to the ballot-box. Resolutions were also passed in support of our national and state tickets. Mr. Wilson said there were twelve thousand fugitives in Canada, and a contribution of twenty-seven dollars was made for the mission. General Appleton sent an excellent letter. These conventions, with the invaluable aid from abroad, gave the great effort for the moral upheaval of the state a grand impulse. I addressed a large meeting in Hampden, with many from Newburg and Carmel.

The state election now approached. The Whigs, even with Tyler on their hands, tried again the old appeals for the "more favorable party." The Kennebec Journal said: "The only effect of running the Liberty party was to prevent the election of abolitionists, and elect *loco focos*, subservient to the planters." The Argus said: "Leave religion to the pul-

pits, temperance to Washingtonians, abolition to moral suasion, and rally for Democracy and equal rights." The question of the annexation of Texas began to appear, and both parties were against that. But the antislavery people were becoming too well informed for such delusions. The most obstructive were a class "as much opposed to slavery as anybody — but." They were the "neither cold nor hot" class; reiterating all manner of senseless excuses for not voting against it, such as, — "You can't elect," "the more favorable party," "the least of two evils," "voting for the Liberty candidate was voting for a Democrat," "trusting the cause," etc. But duty conquered.

The following is the vote of the Liberty party for General James Appleton for governor in 1842, as nearly as could be ascertained. There was official fraud, but the report to the Secretary of State was one thousand six hundred and sixty-two for 1841 and four thousand and eighty for 1842.

YORK.	1841	1842
Alfred,		4
Berwick,	2	26
Biddeford,		3
Buxton,	9	75
Cornish,	5	16
Hollis,		28
Kennebunk,	5	13
Kennebunkport,		3
Limerick,		32
Limington,	2	
North Berwick,		32
Parsonsfield,	8	30
Saco,	7	11
Sanford,	1	
South Berwick,	21	41
Waterboro,		13
Wells,		17
CUMBERLAND.		
Auburn,		30
Bridgton,	17	40
Brunswick,	3	19
Cape Elizabeth,		1
Cumberland,	1	
Danville,	3	7
Falmouth,	2	1
Freeport,	27	56
Gorham,	16	15
Gray,	3	9
Harrison,	1	25
Minot,	17	9
New Gloucester,	3	26
No. Yarmouth,	61	84
Poland,	10	
Portland,	35	81
Pownal,		6
Sebago,		1
Standish,	1	
Westbrook,	5	10
Windham,	6	49
LINCOLN.		
Bath,	7	40
Bowdoin,	3	7
Bowdoinham,	13	7
Bristol,	3	2
Dresden,		1
Jefferson,	2	
Lewiston,	3	28
Lisbon,	1	
Phipsburg,	5	5
Richmond,	8	8
Thomaston,	10	5
Topsham,	27	32
Union,	3	
Warren,	1	4
Whitefield,	1	
Wiscasset,	6	7
Waldoboro,		4
Webster,		2
Woolwich,	31	29
HANCOCK.		
Eden,		5
Bucksport,	8	15
Castine,	6	
Mt. Desert,	2	1
Orland,	1	22
Seaville,	1	
Sedgwick,	1	
WASHINGTON.		
Alexander,	11	12

	1841	1842
Baileyville,	1	2
Baring,	4	2
Calais,	12	67
Columbia,		6
Crawford,		16
East Machias,	7	22
Lubec,	8	
Machias,	1	7
Meddybemps,	1	1
Pembroke,	14	31
Princeton,	1	3
KENNEBEC.		
Albion,	8	10
Augusta,	16	38
Belgrade,		18
China,	4	24
Clinton,	1	
Fayette,	3	
Gardiner,	27	84
Greene,	3	8
Hallowell,	41	83
Leeds,	23	23
Litchfield,	14	38
Monmouth,	7	19
Mt. Vernon,		6
Pittston,	5	23
Readfield,	1	8
Vassalboro,	7	13
Waterville,	28	58
Wayne,	16	24
Windsor,		20
Winslow,	9	11
Winthrop,	40	83
PENOBSCOT.		
Argyle,	3	3
Bangor,	66	161
Bradford,	4	12
Brewer,	10	25
Carmel,	2	3
Corinna,	4	42
Corinth,	2	12
Charleston,	3	11
Dexter,	1	27
Dixmont,	2	36
Enfield,		1
Exeter,	1	20
Garland,	3	20
Glenburn,		10
Hampden,	20	45
Hermon,	5	5
Levant,	1	3
Lincoln,	1	1
Maxfield,	2	
Newbury,		3
Newport,		5
Oldtown,		33
Orono,	2	7
Orrington,		13
Plymouth,		6
OXFORD.		
Bethel,	17	
Brownfield,	1	
Buckfield,	5	15
Canton,	3	
Denmark,	13	24
Dixfield,	1	
Fryeburg,	17	
Gilead,	5	
Hartford,	65	75
Hebron,	28	12
Livermore,	19	23
Lovell,	6	
Norway,	5	8
Oxford,	2	
Paris,	18	14
Peru,	29	26
Porter,		2
Sumner,	34	46
Sweden,	6	11
Turner,	11	16
Waterford,	24	42
Woodstock,		11
SOMERSET.		
Anson,	2	5
Bingham,		2
Bloomfield,	21	39
Brighton,		6
Cambridge,	1	6
Canaan,		1
Cornville,	11	8
Embden,	2	7
Fairfield,	14	6
Harmony,	1	
Lexington,		15
Madison,	24	28
Mercer,	12	28
New Portland,	44	33
No. 2,		6
Norridgewock,	18	48
Range 4,	12	
Ripley,		3
Smithfield,		3
Solon,	18	22
St. Albans,	8	32
Starks,	6	48
Skowhegan,	9	13
FRANKLIN.		
Avon,	4	16
Berlin,	7	
Chesterville,	8	21
Farmington,	19	40
Freeman,		9
Industry,	9	24
Madrid,		2
New Sharon,		78
New Vineyard,	2	7
Phillips,	12	51
Range 2,	3	12
Salem,	1	
Strong,	11	29
Temple,	6	25
Weld,	2	3
Wilton,	20	48
PISCATAQUIS.		
Abbot,	4	7
Atkinson,	5	23
Barnard,	2	4
Bowerbank,	6	5
Blanchard,	11	25
Brownville,	4	
Dover,	20	35
Foxcroft,	14	16
Guilford,	17	40
Kilmarnock,	2	
Milo,	21	18
Monson.	10	27
Orneville,	9	11
Sebec,	2	8
Williamsburg,	3	8
Shirley,		2
Sangerville,		5
Wellington.		5
AROOSTOOK.		
Hodgdon,	1	
Houlton,		1
Smyrna,	6	
Weston,	1	8
WALDO.		
Belfast,	2	4
Belmont,	1	
Brooks,	4	15
Burnham,	14	10
Camden,	15	10
Frankfort,	2	9
Freedom,	2	
Jackson,	6	7
Liberty,	3	
Lincolnville,	1	
Prospect,	11	31
Montville,		3
Thorndike,		10
Total,	1662	4080

Here was the cheering result of one year's work more with the people, and against the utmost forces in opposition. The vote had more than doubled by several thousands, and was found in nearly every ballot-box in the state, so well had the organization

been completed. The friends of liberty felt assurance of success in redeeming the state and nation, and pressed on with new energy. Many candidates for the legislature were defeated of their majorities by the Liberty vote, and voting had to be many times repeated. On the third ballot, Elder G. Perkins, abolitionist, was elected in Lewiston. Charles Morse of Wilton, received so many Whig and Democratic votes as to secure his election to the Senate, the first abolitionist in that body. He was an intelligent, sound, and worthy man, and held in high esteem. He early saw the right, adopted it, and never faltered.

Before the election an effort was made to divert public attention in behalf of the Colonization Society. Mr. Gurley, its Secretary, came into the state, delivered lectures and presented its Northern side. But it soon disappeared before fatal arguments. Its Southern advocates sustained it avowedly for the perpetuity of slavery.

A Congregational Antislavery Convention — the first in the state — was held in Winthrop, October 28. Rev. David Thurston, Chairman; Austin Willey, Secretary; D. Thurston, Dr. Tappan, J. T. Hawes, E. Thurston, D. Sewall, A. Willey, D. Garland, Committee. A series of subjects of inquiry were reported, discussed, and voted on. It was affirmed, that the churches and ministers of this denomination had not done their duty; that there ought to be more prayer; that it was the duty of ministers to warn the people against participating in the sin of slavery; that it was "highly criminal" for

ministers and churches to be silent respecting this soul-destroying sin; that no Christian fellowship should be extended to a slave-holder; that Christians cannot innocently exercise the right of suffrage in support of moral wrong, and that publications which oppose the antislavery cause ought not to be supported. A committee was chosen to call another convention.

The great reform had now reached such a position of power in the state, that neither contempt nor silence would be safe for its opposers. It must be met in the field of open discussion, and their position defended. And this was the more impossible because the cause of freedom was entrenched in moral law. There they could not approach it. The Whigs had already decided upon the nomination of Henry Clay in 1844. They must keep up the profession at the North that the "party is opposed to slavery," (Kennebec Journal), while Mr. Clay, the large slave-holder and slave-breeder, was to be their candidate for President. To indicate the breadth of aim and the situation, a few editorial paragraphs from the Standard are quoted on "The Great Moral Issue."

Such an issue is now making up in this country, in this state, on new ground, and the community are taking sides. This issue is, — shall moral law be applied to the ballot-box? The Liberty party has undertaken to make impartial justice the pole star of our political and governmental action, and let slaves and the country share the immeasurable benefits. Against it are arraigned both the old parties, most of the political and religious presses, together with a large body of ministers and professors of religion.

The conflict on this field has become, in many places, exceedingly warm. Many ministers who take the side of justice, are suffering little short of persecution, and many have been driven from their

places in consequence of it. The friends of righteousness are opposed and circumvented in every possible form, and many are suffering from the part they have taken. The great issue is before the nation, and every man will take his position on one side or the other, and there be recorded forever. Where shall be the record of your name and efforts?

Had not these principles interfered with *party*, there would have been little trouble; but the friends of liberty would not sacrifice their integrity to that idol, and were therefore "fanatics," "impracticable," "extremists," "people of one idea," etc. So the war must go on. Oh, that the church had now been faithful!

A special petition was issued and extensively circulated for presentation to the legislature when it would meet, to enact a law forbidding all persons holding any office under the laws of the state to aid in any manner the recovery of alleged fugitive slaves; to forbid the use of jails or any public property for such purpose; to propose an amendment of the Constitution which shall separate the people of Maine from all connection with slavery; to call on our members of Congress to oppose the annexation of Texas.

The cause of liberty in other states had made equally encouraging progress in 1842, as it had in Maine. Massachusetts had about seven thousand votes, and John Quincy Adams was re-elected to Congress. New York had nearly eight thousand votes for liberty. Ohio doubled her vote, making about five thousand, five hundred. Other states increased in similar proportion, carrying the vote of freedom to some thirty-five thousand in two years. "Throwing away votes," they said, and "ruining the cause."

CHAPTER XVI.

EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING. STATE LIBERTY CONVENTION. NOMINATION OF GOVERNOR. LEWIS CLARK. SLAVERY UNVEILED. WORK. NEW ENGLAND METHODIST CONVENTIONS IN BOSTON, MAINE, AND NEW HAMPSHIRE. AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. PRESBYTERIAN ASSEMBLIES. MAINE CONGREGATIONAL CONFERENCE. CONGRESS.

THE Eighth Annual Meeting of the Maine Anti-slavery Society was held in Hallowell, January 18 and 19, 1843. The President being absent, Z. Humphrey, Esquire, presided. Reading scriptures and prayer by Rev. D. Thurston. Business committee, Professor Smyth, A. Willey, Seth May, Rev. A. Redlon, Rev. C. C. Cone, Rev. Mr. Cressey, J. D. Safford. Annual report read by A. Willey. Resolutions discussed and adopted: "That we are more impressed than ever of the fundamental truth, that slavery is a flagrant sin against God and man; that a slaveholder is as disqualified for church membership as any other sinner; that the moral condition of the slaves is such as calls loudly for the sympathies and efforts of every Christian in the land; that the cause absolutely requires an agent in the state, and the society pledge his support." Professor Smyth, Rev. C. C. Cone, Rev. S. Adlam, were appointed delegates to the next World's Antislavery Convention in London.

Lewis Clark, a fugitive slave, was present and greatly increased the interest of the meeting. He was a

remarkable young man for ability, good sense, social qualities, and public speaking. Few could reach the hearts of an audience like him, and he did the cause of his people great service. Officers elected were General S. Fessenden, President; A. Willey, Corresponding Secretary; S. Page, Recording Secretary, P. Stickney, Treasurer; with a Vice-president in every county. Executive Committee, D. Thurston, W. Smyth, E. Dole, A. Willey, S. Adlam, D. B. Randall. A thaw had carried off the snow, but there was good attendance, the Congregational church full, in the evening crowded, and energy and harmony were characteristics.

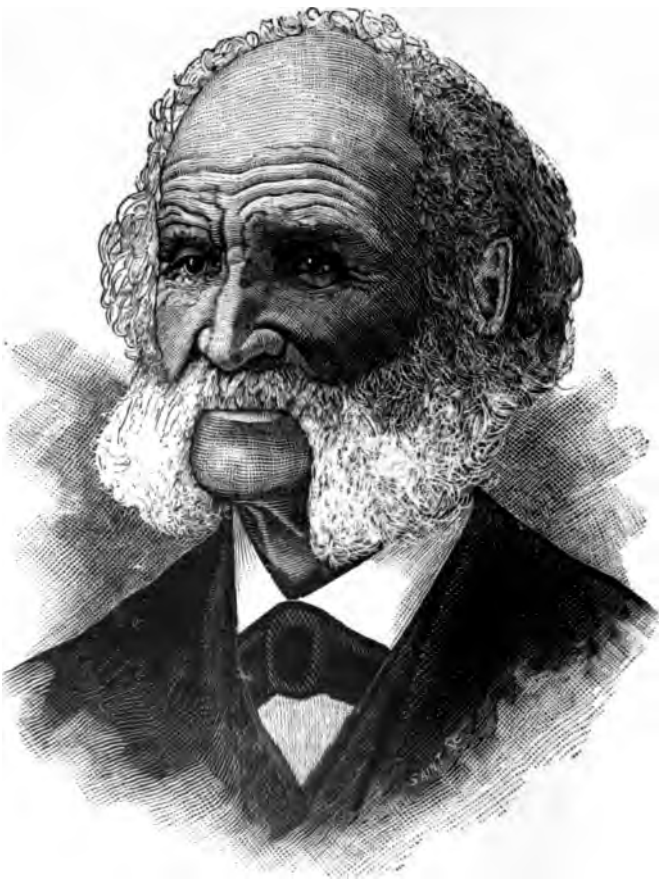
The next day the State Liberty Convention met in the same place and was called to order by A. Willey, and Honorable C. Morse elected Chairman, R. G. Lincoln and J. Allen, Secretaries. Committees were appointed, one to issue an appeal for the union of all antislavery people of the country in our party. State committee of Liberty party: Asa Walker, J. E. Godfrey, C. A. Stackpole, A. Willey, R. G. Lincoln, Seth May, B. F. M. Reed.

The convention proceeded to the nomination of a candidate for governor. Votes cast were one hundred and seventeen, all of which were for General Appleton, who made an interesting speech of acceptance. A long series of resolutions was reported and adopted, prominent points of which were: that our great enterprise has its foundation in the moral law of God, and are grateful for the past and rely on him for the future; that the equal rights of all men is the basis of the Liberty party; that we only demand Consti-

tutional and lawful powers; that while we disclaim all right of the national government to abolish slavery in the states, we solemnly protest against its right to establish or promote it anywhere; that we demand its abolition in the District of Columbia, in all territories, and wherever the government has jurisdiction; that slavery now has the entire control of the nation; that we most emphatically demand a divorce of the government from it in all its forms; that we do not agree with the editors of the other parties, that the best way to get rid of slavery is to let it alone, and the way to put it *down* is to put slave-holders *up;* that the party has undertaken no mere experiment, but a permanent measure to be firmly pursued till its end is accomplished; that the thirty-seven thousand votes for liberty the last year call for gratitude to God, and encourage our efforts in the future; that we recommend the formation of Liberty associations in every town in the state, and thus be ready for every election.

Here stand the veterans of liberty in line for another year of conflict, their banner proclaiming as glorious an object as ever contested a field of combat. There lay constantly in view three millions of crushed fellow-creatures — men, women, and children, their cries piercing every true human heart and before them their perverted, apostate, dying country, with the Almighty thundering in Revelation and Providence — *Execute Justice, or take it!* They knew God was on their side, and that was victory. The strife was to be severe. The next presidential election was in sight, and political hostility would be





LEWIS G. CLARK,

The "George Harris" of Uncle Tom's Cabin.

desperate. They were not the moneyed class. but money must be liberally given, detraction and reproach endured, and self-denial accepted, but what were those in such a contest! Maine shall be rolled off from the panting bosoms of the slaves, cost what it would!

County meetings now follow, and Lewis Clark remained in the state several weeks lecturing and attending these meetings with me, in Oxford, Franklin, Somerset, Cumberland, and Lincoln. The weather was severe and stormy; two feet of heavy snow fell, chiefly in one night. Mr. Clark's form was manly, his countenance open and intelligent, and his mental powers wonderful in his condition. He was the "George Harris" of Uncle Tom's Cabin. To look on him as a slave was amazing. He was a fugitive from Kentucky, and his personal history was horrible, but so honestly stated that no one could doubt its perfect truth. He was liable at any time to be seized, but he would risk it, so that he might tell the people what slavery was practically, in his own experience and observation. I had the pleasure of accompanying him in most of his labor in the state.

March 18, 1884, Lewis Clark wrote from Oberlin, Ohio:

MY DEAR FRIEND WILLEY:—I was more than glad to hear from you. It always affords me great pleasure to hear from any who were in the great cause of freedom in the dark days of slavery, when so few were found to espouse the cause of the oppressed. I have not forgotten the time when I was invited to go to Maine to tell the people about slavery. I then was making my home with Mr. Safford, in Cambridgeport, Massachusetts, a brother-in-law of Mrs. H. B. Stowe. It was there I became acquainted with her. After speak-

ing to many people in Massachusetts, I was sent to Portland, stopped with General Fessenden; then to Hallowell, and stayed with Mr. Willey; and he and I traveled all over that part of the state at all times of the year. I recollect that we had to go to a convention in a great snow-storm, starting long before day. We got tipped over seven times, and I took the mumps, but did n't know it till eating something sour at supper.

Mr. Willey was the most self-denying man for the cause I ever became acquainted with, considering his small means of support, and the feebleness of his wife. She could not walk a step, and had to be helped up and down. I have often thought of you when I have heard so much said about what others had done. I hope you will pardon me for saying that you did more for the cause of freedom than any other white man for the same pay. I had to work in the same way as a colored man and a slave. I recollect one time, I think, when you was attacked in the street. [He mentions the names of persons with whom he stopped in all parts of the state with surprising accuracy.]

You know that I was a slave until about twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age, and left the auction-block in 1841. I went to Maine in 1843, and did all I could from that time to expose the slave system. I have lived to see the manacles fall, and am now, as I have ever been, a poor man as to this world's goods. I was in Canada, and done all I could for the poor fugitives there for eighteen years. I led off in agriculture and all other ways. I married, and was raising a large family of children without schools. I got rid of my little effects and brought them here to try to educate them for usefulness. Five of the nine are teaching.

I was urged to go to Kentucky to try to do good there. I intended to stay there about three months, and lecture in the Ku Klux region. I spoke in the very cot-houses where I was once sold at auction. I got over-heated, and was sick fifteen months, and remained in the state three years. My wife died in Oberlin two years after I came here, and her sister, whose home was with us, took charge of the family until the report got out that I was dead. Then she broke up, and took the four smaller children to Detroit. I am trying to bring them here to school again. I could do more good in Kentucky than anywhere else. I was kindly treated all over the state, and lectures well attended. My wife was Amelia Bell Walker, brought up in Lexington, Kentucky. Her mother and two children were freed by their grandfather.

Lewis Clark's father was also his master in early life. To keep in the mind of the reader of history a lively impression of what it was that inspired such persistent effort in the abolitionists, a few paragraphs are quoted from one of his speeches.

How would *you* like to have *your* wives, *your* daughters, *your* sisters completely, totally in the power of a master? I had a pretty sister; she was whiter than I am, for she took after her father. When she was sixteen years old her master sent for her. When he sent again, she cried, and did n't want to go. She told her mother her troubles, and she tried to encourage her to be decent, and hold her head up if she could. Her master was so mad to think she complained to her mother, that he sold her right off to Louisiana; and we heard afterward that she died there of hard usage.

They mind no more of selling children away from a slave-mother than they do calves from a cow. Many and many is the wife that I have seen sobbing and crying for the husband that 's driven off to go down the Mississippi. There was one poor woman — oh, how I did pity that woman! Her husband belonged to my boss, and he wouldn 't let him go to see her. Sometimes he would steal away a short time to see her; but if he found him gone he had to take a terrible flogging. Sometimes he made me go and call him in the middle of the night, to find out if he was in, and if he did n't answer he caught it the next morning, I can tell you! But he *would* go to see his wife, and when the master saw that he couldn 't stop it, he sold him. She begged him to find somebody near who would buy him, but got discouraged and ran away to him. Her mistress was an awful tyrant, and charged her husband to bring her back, no matter what was offered. And poor Bets was brought back, and had a dreadful flogging. And every day of her life her mistress was knocking her over the head with tongs, shovel, or anything else. She set her to spinning in the yard. The ground was covered with coarse gravel, and Betsy had no shoes. Her feet became blistered, and her track was all marked with blood. I saw it with my own eyes. She tied rags around her feet, but the blood would come through. If she dared to stop a bit her mistress would have her switched. Sometimes she just laid down on the ground, and groaned and screamed; but she would taunt and beat her. She was the most suffering creature I ever saw; and all because she went to see her husband!

The suffering of children will never half be told. My mistress had a little slave-girl, about seven years old, that used to get terribly abused. She beat her head up against the chimney till it was in a dreadful state, and kicked her about as if a dog. The poor child soon died of bad treatment. Mistress did her best to kill me, but I lived through it. Preacher Raymond had a little girl about eight years old whom he used often to duck instead of flog. Left at home one day in care of a young fretful child, she tried the ducking, but it slipped and was drowned. She was imprisoned and sentenced to be hung. But she understood nothing, and was glad to be taken out of prison to be executed.

Lewis Clark went to Portland, but could get no house except the Abyssinian church where he had one meeting. By the energy of Dr. C. G. Parsons of Windham, a worthy and true man, he had a very large meeting there and of great effect. He labored with great success in many other towns, and returned to Massachusetts. His brother Milton, a fugitive, did good service in Maine. He is now in business in Boston.

We were urged to Vassalborough in March and gave four lectures there, in two days, to full audiences. The Women's Society engaged in the tract cause. We had published and put in circulation, within a year, about seventeen thousand five hundred copies of four page tracts of double columns.

A New England Methodist Antislavery Convention was held in Boston in January, 1843, which was an important measure. Revs. Mark Trafton, Randall, Teffts, Morse, and Adams of Maine, were prominent in calling it. The leading object was "to drive slavery from our church." For this the question of its continuance must be brought in issue; and if slavery could not be driven out a division would be inevita-

ble. To hold that crime within church fellowship was sin. It was stated that about four hundred Methodist preachers held about four thousand slaves; and twenty-five thousand members held two hundred thousand slaves, worth at market price one hundred million dollars. As a majority of the General Conference was in the North, this was emphatically a sin of the North; and measures were adopted to bring before the next General Conference the demand for its "immediate extirpation." It was a noble, Christian movement, and results will be noticed.

On the 23d of February a Methodist Convention for the same object met in Hallowell, and continued two days. Ezekiel Robinson, President; A. H. Howard, D. B. Randall, E. Robinson, Vice-presidents; C. C. Cone, H. M. Eaton, Secretaries. A long series of resolutions were reported, ably, fraternally discussed, and adopted. They asserted the sinfulness of slave-holding, showed how deeply the Methodist church was involved in it; that it was a fast increasing evil; that their prominent southern ministers justified it; that slave-holders are ordained as ministers; that the General Conference had denied colored members the right to testify against whites; that the conference had taken no exception to the Georgia Conference which denied that slavery was a moral evil, etc., and stating the number of slaves held in that church.

It was recommended to send large petitions to the next conference, and the right men to sustain them; that it was fidelity to the church to clear it of the great sin and shame, and "we will never cease our

exertions for the entire extermination of this abomination from the church and the country till the object is attained, or we drop into our graves." An address to the slave-holders in the church was reported, as was done by the New England Convention, signed by the officers and the one hundred members, and ordered printed. The convention was excellent, and its object rich in promise. It disregarded all excuses about "hurting the church," and boldly determined to force the issue to trial whether the great sin should be cast out. It was the only way to save the church. A Methodist Antislavery Convention for the same objects was soon held in New Hampshire.

The American and Foreign Antislavery Society met in New York in May, 1843. Its resolutions expressed gratitude to God for the progress of the cause in church and state; for the emancipation of one million slaves in British West Indies, and twelve millions in British India, and all the slaves in Tunis; for the decline of prejudice against color. They also declared it a violation of religion to hold slave-holders and slave-dealers in Christian fellowship, and their joy that so many slaves had escaped to British liberty.

The Presbyterian General Assemblies, both Old and New School, refused to take any action on slavery. The Baptist Board of Missions, though in pro-slavery hands, disregarded all appeals and insisted on "neutrality." The Congregational Conference of Maine was appealed to by Rev. S. Thurston to instruct their delegates to the Presbyterian bodies "to bear testimony before them against the sin of slavery." Indefinitely postponed! Thus they held fra-

ternal Christian relations with denominations that held seventy thousand fellow-men as stock, and refused to "reprove" them. Both parties thus stood on the same moral ground.

The slave power, having all it wanted, was ever crying, "Let us alone," and its northern agencies faithfully denounced agitation, but they might as well have ordered silence in an earthquake. Agitators were in Congress as well as elsewhere. Mr. Slade offered a resolution in the House for the abolition of the slave-trade in the District, and moved to suspend the twenty-first rule for its consideration. Refused, — one hundred and eleven to seventy-three. Clifford, Littlefield, Lowell, Marshall, Maine Democrats, voted nay. Mr. Morgan, of New York, moved for a repeal of a Territorial law in Florida authorizing a poll tax on free colored persons coming there, and their sale for ninety-nine years to pay it. Clifford, Littlefield, Lowell, Marshall, nay. A movement was made for the protection of northern colored citizens at the South; lost, one hundred and four to eighty-four. Mr. Benton moved for a change in the treaty with Great Britain by which slaves driven on British Islands should not be freed. Ruel Williams, senator from Maine, voted for it. The Whig administration now in power had not been exceeded by any other in guilty servility to the slave despotism, demonstrating the worthlessness of their professions.

The county meetings held in February and March showed a steady growth of the cause among the people, and an increasing anxiety in the old party ranks. The state society saw that an agent must be em-

ployed, and adopted the plan of asking a collection in each town equal to twenty-five cents for each Liberty voter. This was accepted by the counties, and a man in the several towns was appointed to make the collection. The Standard also received encouragement and appreciation.

The great conflict was now assuming two general aspects, though they were one. The first premise was that slave-holding was sin — a disciplinable offense in the Christian church. Consequently churches that permitted it, and individuals who persistently practiced it, must be excluded from Christian fellowship, and the church cleansed. The other department was the political — to cleanse the state, to cast off and cast out from the nation as such the abominable crime. But this, too, proceeded on moral obligation, on Divine command, as much as the other. Voting against slavery in the state was as positively commanded by the Author of civil government, as was voting against it in the church. On this rock the sublime conflict rested, especially in Maine.

A specimen of the times: A man in Ohio fed and aided a fugitive to a land of liberty. The grand jury indicted him for "feeding a negro owing service to" — somebody unknown. When the case came on it was *privately* dismissed, for the law was unconstitutional. But his church voted him out of his eldership for feeding that hungry man.

CHAPTER XVII.

SECOND WORLD'S CONVENTION. PROGRESS OF LIBERTY "WONDERFUL." NOMINATIONS — STATE AND CONGRESSIONAL. HOME WORK. WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION AT BANGOR. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. JUDGE JAY. CANDIDATES FOR CONGRESS. STATE CONVENTION. FREE WILL BAPTISTS. STATE ELECTIONS. NATIONAL CONVENTION. RE-NOMINATION OF BIRNEY AND MORRIS. HOSTILITY. TRACTS. THE BIBLE SOCIETY. CONGRESS.

THE Second World's Antislavery Convention was held in London, June 13, 1843. Seventeen delegates were there from the United States. The venerable Clarkson was made President. He had prepared an address, but was too feeble to read it, and Joseph Sturge read it. He reviewed the progress of the downfall of slavery, since the convention of 1840, throughout the world, and showed it "wonderful," and just cause for gratitude and new courage. "The hand of God is visible in the work. My motto has always been, 'Go on — regardless of difficulties.'" A report was read by the committee of the work done in the three years in many countries. One form of effort had been to appeal to the Christian church in all countries where slavery existed to exclude slave-holders from religious fellowship. Many were printed, and two hundred written copies had been sent to ministers and ecclesiastical bodies in the United States.

They also sent their appeal to the heads of national governments, which was approvingly received by the British, Prussian, Austrian, and others. It was sent

to the President of the United States, and to the Governors of the slave states, "but with one exception they were treated with scorn and contempt." Information was given on the subject from all parts of the world. The humiliating condition of this country, religious and civil, in support of slavery, was faithfully described by Mr. Leavitt and others; also the progress and encouraging hopefulness of the antislavery reform. This received the sympathy and hearty indorsement of the convention, including the best men in England in church and state.

Rev. J. A. James, of Birmingham, offered resolutions asserting that "slavery is intrinsically opposed to all natural justice and genuine Christianity"; that the convention deeply deplores the support given it by so many churches and religious bodies, especially in the United States; that "it expresses its high admiration of all those who, in a Christian spirit and by Christian methods, are laboring to purify their religious connections from all fellowship with and support of this heinous sin." Rev. Dr. Ritchie of Edinburgh and others supported the resolutions, which were adopted unanimously. High eulogies were conferred on John Quincy Adams, by Lord Morpeth and others, and a resolution adopted in his honor. A committee was chosen to carry on the work and call another World's Convention.

The influence of this, like the other convention, was great. It strengthened weary hands and cheered burdened hearts, alarmed the slave-holders, and embarrassed their allies. If ever in history Christ came "in his kingdom" to "set at liberty them that are

bruised," surely it was in the first half of this century. Light was silently reaching southern mind. This the slave-holders knew must be the result if the agitation went on, and this they feared.

A meeting of the State Antislavery Society of Ohio was the largest and most enthusiastic ever held. The Illinois Society meeting exceeded any building to hold it. A representative for Congress was nominated. Connecticut held a meeting of unusual interest. And in all other free states the work was moving on with unity and energy, except the fast declining Garrison element in Massachusetts, and New Hampshire slightly. An effort was made to introduce it into Maine that year, but without success.

All counties in Maine held their conventions for nominations for the September elections, many town societies were formed, much volunteer lecturing was done, the circulation of the Standard was increased, and tract distribution enlarged. This being the year for Congressional elections, nominations were made. Rev. C. C. Cone was made the candidate in the Lincoln District, and General Fessenden was nominated at the great 4th of July meeting at Windham.

July 12th, a convention met at Mount Vernon to nominate for Congress in that district. Seth May of Winthrop was unanimously chosen. A. Willey, H. Waters, and Eben. Child, were chosen to issue an address to the electors of the district. Delegates were also chosen to attend the National Liberty Convention in Buffalo, August 30, — Stephen Sewall, Eben. Dole, Dr. Cook, J. Titcomb, Deacon Carr,

A. Willey, R. G. Lincoln. Henry McCrillis of Montville was nominated for Representative to Congress in Waldo District, and S. M. Pond of Bucksport was chosen for that district.

No state agent had been employed for want of money, but beside Lewis Clark's invaluable work, much volunteer lecturing had been done by Messrs. Cone, Randall, Hawes, and many others. I attended many of the county meetings and gave lectures so far as possible, doing much editorial work in the night. Many ministers were embarrassed in such work on account of the political aspect of the cause, "Religion has nothing to do with politics," and partisans of the old parties meant to keep it so, as the condition of their own party existence. Hence their intolerance of ministers who ventured to tell the people what God's law was over the ballot. A nation in which religion has nothing to do with politics is dying — "shall perish."

A grand celebration of West India Emancipation was held in Bangor August 1, the influence of which was very valuable. An eloquent, powerful letter from John Q. Adams was read, in answer to an invitation to attend. "The extinction of slavery from all the face of the earth," he said, "is a problem, moral, political, religious, which at this moment rocks the foundations of human society throughout the regions of civilized man. It is nothing more nor less that a consummation of the Christian religion." He says, "The first impulse of the regeneration of human liberty came from us and the 4th of July is its anniversary"; and after describing the condition in other

countries, and our apostasy and shame, he adds, "I will close with the ejaculation to heaven that *you* may live to substitute for the 1st of August the day when the powers of emancipation shall be extinguished in universal freedom!" We printed some ten thousand copies of the letter made up in tract form. It ought ever to have a high place in English literature.

Hon. Judge Jay of New York, an eminent son of the great statesman of the Revolution, was also invited, but wrote a short, excellent letter, in which he said, "West India emancipation is a triumphant vindication of the principles of the abolitionists, and a most blessed demonstration of the safety and expediency of doing justice and loving mercy. That obedience to the Divine will is the sure path to individual happiness and political security."

A convention in Piscataquis nominated Dr. David Shepherd of Sebec for Congress, and another in York nominated Dr. Burleigh Smart of Kennebunk.

Two other significant facts now occurred. In the Cumberland Democratic convention, Robert P. Dunlap was nominated for Congress against Littlefield the servile, thirty-nine to seventeen; in York, Joseph Herrick was nominated against Clifford, and both were cast out of public life. This was the result of the work and ballots of the Liberty party without "electing." Their votes were not thrown away. The Democratic party in Maine had begun to yield. Such symptoms encouraged right voting, and answered the blind excuses—"throwing away votes," "you can't elect"; excuses which deny individual accountabiliy and the first principles of elective government.

For the first time a complete list of candidates for Representatives to Congress by the Liberty party was before the people. It was the first ever presented to the state for constitutional liberty, and it was never equalled in capacity and moral elevation of character.

At the head was General Fessenden, and the state had no nobler name. Burleigh Smart was a sound man of ability and worth. Hon. Samuel M. Pond was a man of distinction, intelligence, and high moral and Christian character. Few men were more respected. Dr. David Shepherd of Sebec was a man of education, of sound moral worth, an esteemed physician, of devoted fidelity to the cause of liberty, and qualified for the high trust for which he was nominated. Dr. Henry McCrillis of Waldo was a plain man, well informed, a valued physician, and of sterling character. He had ever been a firm friend of liberty. Rev. Charles C. Cone has already become known to the readers of this history as an able, tireless, faithful friend of the oppressed with pen and speech.

Seth May, Esquire, of Winthrop was an able lawyer, and a man of pure, honorable Christian character. When the great assault arose for the extinction of slavery he carefully weighed the arguments and saw clearly that eternal truth, justice, and humanity were on that side, and that the Almighty commanded the liberation of those outraged millions. He weighed the evidence with a legal mind honestly, and but one decision was possible. He at once committed himself to the side of the slaves as but very few lawyers would. The odium poured upon abolitionists, then, with mobs and outrage would



Yours truly,

Seth Merry





even place his profession in jeopardy, but never was a faltering step seen in his history. He was ever at the front with labor and purse. When the question of a new party came up, his clear, intelligent mind perceived the absolute necessity for the success of the cause, and his ballot went into the box for Birney in 1840. His nomination for Congress for the sublime purposes of liberty, was a selection of the right man, and strengthened our cause. After the state was emancipated from slavery to liberty he was made a judge of the state court, and for many years faithfully and honorably discharged its duties.

A State Liberty Convention was held in Portland, August 22, 1843. Its object was to obtain further intelligence on slavery over the government, promote a more complete organization of the party, and appoint delegates at large to the national convention. Hon. S. M. Pond was President; C. H. Shirley and I. C. White, Secretaries. Its business committee was Brown, May, Willey, Tracy of Boston, Freeman, Stackpole, Fessenden. Its resolutions, among other things, declared that the history of the country is a history of the encroachments and usurpations of the slave power; "that as neither the Whig nor the Democratic party has taken a single step to resist these encroachments, nor to remove this plague spot from our country, the sooner they are broken up and confounded the better; that it is of the first importance to complete the organization of the Liberty party throughout the state." These and other resolutions were discussed and adopted during the two days, and the work strengthened in the state. Gen-

eral Fessenden, Stephen Sewall, S. S. Brown, and A. Willey were appointed to the national convention.

Representatives for the legislature were extensively nominated in the towns throughout the state. A new political organization to take the government being indispensable, all connection with the old parties only embarrassed and hindered the object. The great issue was between the Liberty party and both the old parties combined. All discerning men saw that unless something could be done to arrest this new party, the others must fall. Its arguments were invincible and its appeals resistless before the people. Indeed, the conflict had even now nearly passed from our principles and objects. The Whigs largely claimed that their party was the one to carry them out. But they had a hard job. By professions and promises against slavery they swept the state and nation in 1840, and now their record has killed the party. The Tyler administration had not been exceeded in servile devotion to slavery. The Gag was in full force still; Henry Clay was already accepted as their candidate for 1844; their candidate for governor, Robinson, had voted for the Gag in the state senate, and Daniel Webster, their great northern leader, had surrendered, and not a promise had been fulfilled. Hon. W. Pitt Fessenden promised to move for a repeal of the twenty-first rule in Congress, but he failed because the slave-holding leaders had so hedged the thing up that he could not do it. It is believed it was the annoying position which he must hold as a Whig in Congress that led him to decline a renomination. The Democrats made no delusive

professions, claimed that Democracy was liberty enough, but held an attitude of open hostility, which was less injurious. They knew the state was to be theirs at present, but feared the future.

The Freewill Baptists about this time formed a York County Antislavery Society in order "the better to call into entire co-operation the ministry and the church." One resolution was, "that to vote for, or to neglect to vote against slavery, is lending influence in its favor." Elder B. S. Manson, President; Deacon H. Lord, Vice-president; Elder I. Fullonton, Secretary. Messrs. Manson, Lord, Fullonton, H. Brackett, O. B. Cheney, N. Hersom, O. M. Kenney, Executive Committee.

The result of the election was about six thousand seven hundred and forty-six for Liberty. In 1840, one hundred and ninety-five; in 1841, one thousand six hundred and sixty-two; in 1842, about four thousand and eighty; in 1843, *six thousand seven hundred and forty-six!*

The law requiring a majority to elect, many elections were defeated by the Liberty vote. Representatives to Congress: Dunlap, Democrat, was elected in Cumberland; Hannibal Hamlin, Democrat, was elected in Penobscot; and Herrick, Democrat, in York. In Waldo, Hancock, and Kennebec, there was no choice. Many elections for state senators and representatives were defeated, and voting must be repeated till majorities are obtained.

A National Liberty Convention met in Buffalo, New York, August 30, 1843. It was the week preceding our election in Maine, and unfortunate for our

work. Some of us appointed delegates felt it our duty to remain at home. The convention was held in a vast tent, brought from Oberlin and spread in the park, where a great multitude promptly assembled from all the free states. Alvan Stewart, chairman of the convention, called to order, and presided. Rev. Mr. Snyder of New York, offered prayer. Committee on business: A. Stewart, W. Goodell, S. P. Chase, H. B. Stanton, W. H. Burleigh, F. J. Lemoyne, T. S. Brown, Maine. Songs by C. A. Wheaton and G. W. Clark.

Officers: President, Leicester King, Ohio; Vice-presidents, Samuel Fessenden, Maine, T. Hutchinson, Vermont, William Jackson, Massachusetts, T. C. Love, New York, S. McFarlane, Pennsylvania, Samuel Lewis, Ohio, C. V. Dyer, Illinois, W. H. Burleigh, Connecticut; Secretaries, L. P. Noble, New York, Elizur Wright, Massachusetts, Owen Lovejoy, Illinois, and others.

General Fessenden was called, and in an eloquent speech gave his reasons for leaving a proslavery party. Many other powerful speeches were made. On the second day the convention proceeded to nominations for President and Vice-president, Mr. Birney and Mr. Morris having requested a reconsideration of the nominations of 1841. Each state was to cast the number of its electoral votes, and one hundred and forty-eight votes were given, all for Birney and Morris. The vote was then submitted to the thousands present. Their vote, too, was declared unanimous, when the whole multitude joined in long, loud, enthusiastic cheers. Addresses followed by A. Stewart, S.

Lewis, and others. Rev. Mr. Galusha said the anti-slavery cause commenced in prayer, and moved that we unite with Rev. John Keep in thanks to God for the harmony of their councils, and prayer for the Divine blessing still, and for the success of the cause. After prayer came a song and adjournment till two o'clock in the afternoon.

A series of forty-four able, argumentative, convincing resolutions was then reported, powerfully discussed, and adopted. A few only of the leading positions were: that human brotherhood is a cardinal doctrine of Christianity and true Democracy; that on this ground the Liberty party demands the absolute divorce of the general government from slavery, and under it the restoration of equal rights to all men; that the Liberty party is for no temporary purpose, and has arisen from the people because no other party represents the true principles of American liberty, and spirit of the Constitution; that it is a national party — the party of 1776 revived; that it was then understood that all the states would carry out those principles and abolish slavery, but this pledge of public faith had been shamefully violated and the nation perverted to despotism; that the general government has no power to establish, maintain, or favor slavery on land or sea; that it is indispensably necessary to the salvation of the Union and liberties of the people that the government be rescued from the grasp of the slave power, and its legislature and administration be devoted to the Constitutional rights and welfare of the people; "that the Whig and Democratic parties always do far worse than

throw away their votes as long as they cast them for binding the fetters of the slaves, as they have always done; that we earnestly exhort Liberty men everywhere to organize in states, counties, towns, cities, and districts, and not turn to the right hand nor to the left, till despotism shall have been driven from its last entrenchment; that we most earnestly recommend to Liberty men to make every effort to control the town power as most important of all, by making and supporting their own nominations."

A correspondent of the New York Tribune wrote: "I never witnessed a higher enthusiasm even in the political gatherings of 1840, though the enthusiasm was of a different character, — I would say, of a higher and holier character." There were about one thousand delegates, and some five thousand in the tent. Mr. Torrey wrote: "There were more great intellects, real statesmen, eloquent orators, and pure patriots in this convention than ever met before since 1776"; and spoke of the mighty speeches of S. Fessenden, John Pierpont, A. Stewart, S. P. Chase, S. Lewis, Professor Hudson, H. B. Stanton, S. R. Ward (colored), and others, and that "the maddened proslavery politicians were swearing." A powerful inspiration went out from that convention for liberty, with an assurance of faith. We struck off two thousand extra copies of the official report for circulation.

Only two representatives to Congress were elected at the first ballot — Hamlin and Herrick. All others were defeated by the Liberty votes. They stood — First District, Smart, one thousand one hundred and fourteen; Second, Fessenden, nine hundred and fifty-

six; Third, May, one thousand one hundred and twenty-three; Fourth, Cone, seven hundred and sixty-three; Fifth, McCrillis, eight hundred and eighty; Sixth, Shepherd, one thousand one hundred and eighty-two; Seventh, Pond, three hundred and thirty-three; beside many, no doubt, reported "scattering." In the Third District, Luther Severance, Whig, received a small majority at the second trial. In all others Democrats finally succeeded. In a large number of cases the election of representatives to the state legislature was defeated, and elections had to be repeated many times, such was the vigor of Liberty voters, which forced the slavery parties to combine in many cases, but which in several cases secured a majority for their candidates. The opposition began to perceive that the votes for freedom were not quite "thrown away." They heard from them. New Sharon that year cast one hundred and twelve votes for Liberty, exceeding any other town in the state; Whigs, seventy-three, Democrats, one hundred and three. The Liberty voters held their ground, compelled the other parties to unite and thus elect by twelve majority. These repeated elections aided in keeping up activity by county and local meetings, lectures, distribution of tracts, etc., during the autumn.

But hostility was desperate, especially by the Whigs. It largely centered on the Liberty Standard, and no invention of falsehood, reproach, slander upon its editor, followed up with the people against its patronage, was omitted. They had no hope from argument and truth, and the chief reliance was in

raiding the editor's reputation and character. Going to the polls one election day he heard a Whig lawyer haranguing a company with accusations against him. These he denied as falsehood and slander. The lawyer attacked him, but a Democrat interfered and took the lawyer away. This was encouraging evidence that he had made truth to be felt.

One powerful measure was the occasional publication of a series of tracts called "Seventy-Six," made up from the paper in double columns into four or eight pages. Societies were formed in many towns for the distribution of such matter. The State Committee, in October, appointed Elder Whitney as lecturing agent, and A. Willey, general agent. It was found we must do our own work. Mr. Whitney was a Freewill Baptist minister, and had done the cause good service. The religious department of the cause was not neglected, but the pressure kept up. Many churches took action, asserted the sinfulness of slavery, the duty to exclude slave-holders from fellowship, and to use every power possessed against slavery.

The painful fact that slavery controlled our national religious as well as political institutions, was brought out clearly at the meeting of the American Bible Society in Cincinnati this year. A paper had been read showing the duty of giving the Bible to all people, when a resolution was offered, "That our auxiliaries in slave-holding states be urgently requested, as far as practicable, to supply every person in their vicinity able to read, whether bond or free, with a copy of the Scriptures." A whole day was spent in discussion of the question, when it was rejected—

twenty to seventeen! Alas for Christianity! What could infidelity ask more? Was it strange that thousands poured contempt on such a religion?

Congress met on the fourth of December, 1843. In adopting the rules of the last House, Mr. Adams made a strenuous effort to exclude the twenty-first rule, and a fierce discussion continued several weeks in the morning hour. He was wantonly assailed by the slave-holders. They charged him with having said, "We know the day of the slave's redemption must come, ... but whether in peace or in blood, let it come." Mr. Adams quickly responded with emphasis, "Though it costs the blood of millions of white men, *let it come!*" The slave-holders were terribly shocked.

But new members had entered this strong Democratic House — themselves Democrats — who were to come to the relief of Mr. Adams and Mr. Giddings on this right of petition. John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, was one. Mr. Giddings said to me afterward that when Mr. Hale first entered the House he noticed his firm, manly step and said to himself, "There 's a man the slave-holders can't use." He strongly opposed the gag rule as arbitrary, unconstitutional, and indefensible. Hannibal Hamlin early made a speech declaring his opposition to it, and defended the rights of the people. When he closed Mr. Adams crossed the hall and offered him his hand, saying, "Light breaketh in the east." The whole Maine delegation, excepting Luther Severance, were Democrats, but not a vote was for the twenty-first rule and never was afterward. Here was the first

victory of the state; the result, as all knew, of the Liberty party votes. This was the way they were "thrown away," and "did n't elect." But all efforts were defeated. That rule originated in a Democratic House, and had lived through a strong Whig Congress, and now a strong Democratic House adopts it, ninety-five to ninety-one.

Mr. Adams presented resolutions of the Massachusetts legislature in favor of the right of suffrage by the people of color. Referred to a committee, Mr. Adams, chairman. Mr. Hale called for inquiry respecting the cost of the navy, which has risen to nine millions a year and ought to be reduced to five millions. Mr. Adams and Mr. Giddings supported Mr. Hale, and showed that this large cost was for the protection of the coast slave-trade. Slave-holders were disturbed and long debate followed. Mr. Leavitt was now denied a place in the House as a reporter by the speaker. He had revealed to the country too much of the inwardness of Congress to please the slave-holders and their vassals. Resolutions were presented from the legislatures of Massachusetts and other states in favor of an amendment of the Constitution abolishing slave representation, and referred to his committee.

February 27, 1844, Mr. Adams' committee on rules had by majority reported, omitting the twenty-first. This turned debate directly upon that rule by motion to restore it. Day after day the contest went on, and every device was resorted to in its favor, but with no success. The final vote stood one hundred and six to eighty-six. But the slave-holders understood their

tools, and at once began the work of artifice and "training" to restore their lost shield. On the fourteenth of March the subject was introduced and enough northern Democrats had gone on an excursion, agreed to stay away, or change their vote if necessary, to restore the Gag and with it our national shame. Anything for party!

The Freewill Baptist Antislavery Society held its first annual meeting at Great Falls, New Hampshire. It was positive and vigorous for right and for duty, the whole of it. It insisted on the exclusion of slaveholders from all Christian fellowship; that every professed disciple of Christ who does not manifest his perfect hatred of slavery shares in its guilt; "that as voters we can do this only by voting exclusively for thorough antislavery men." Elder Buzzell had started a paper to counteract the antislavery influence of the Morning Star, but it did not last long.

CHAPTER XVIII.

RELIGIOUS CONVENTION. ANNUAL MEETING MAINE ANTISLAVERY SOCIETY. LIBERTY CONVENTION. GREAT WEEK. COUNTY ACTION. NEW BAPTIST CHURCH, AUGUSTA.

GREAT movements occurred in the state at the opening of the year 1844. A call had been issued for a convention of Christians of all denominations in the state to meet in Hallowell, Tuesday, January 9. Then the Maine Antislavery Society followed on Thursday, January 11, and the Maine Liberty Convention on Friday, January 12. The call for the religious convention had been signed by two hundred and eight names in thirty-two towns. The weather was severe and the roads blocked with snow, which reduced the number; still the attendance was good, the discussions earnest, action harmonious, with increasing interest to the last.

The religious convention had two leading subjects. As slave-holding was a great sin, those who practiced it must be excluded from Christian fellowship in all the relations in which it is found. To do otherwise was to deny its essential sinfulness and justify the slave-holder in remaining such. The greatest kindness to him demanded this position. The great pagan crime had not only found civil protection in the government of a free people, but a safer refuge in Christian fraternity. The church of Christ had embraced it, and however hard the struggle, this infernal spirit must be cast out. Such was the drift of

resolutions and discussion on this great subject, which was made so clear as to secure entire unanimity.

The other point was, the law of God over the ballot. It was shown that we cannot neglect our duty here without incurring the same guilt and producing the same evil results as in the commission of other sins. It was argued that the Bible gives directions as to the character of men to be elected to office, and that we ought to choose no others, and that "ministers are as much bound to instruct their people by what principles God commands them to perform their political duties as any others." General Fessenden made an able argument on this subject. He said that no man who did not respect the laws of God would or could frame laws in harmony with the laws of the Almighty; and only such laws would be productive of the welfare of the people. It was also shown that to dissociate politics from religion, and not allow it to govern politics, is infidelity, atheism; and this is a form which the infidelity of our day continues, and unless Christians awake to their duties we shall follow France in her headlong course of denying the existence of a God. It was shown that ministers had narrowed down far too much the range of their instructions and so weakened the pulpit power; and even personal salvation was imperfectly preached, for that requires repentance for all sins, political as well as others.

A resolution was adopted unanimously condemning the action of the American Bible Society at Cincinnati for refusing to give the Bible to slaves who can read. Such was the interest in the meeting, and

the manifest good that must result from it, that a committee was chosen to call another, and committees to address the churches at the South, and the churches in Maine.

The Ninth Annual Meeting of the Maine Antislavery Society was held on Thursday, General Fessenden, President, in the chair. After prayer, the annual report of the Executive Committee was read. It was an elaborate review of the year in state, nation, and the world on slavery, showing the certainty that "God Almighty has chained the antislavery enterprise to the wheels of his Providential government, and reigns to give it success. Ten years ago the land was still, and the sighs of the oppressed were but the sighing of the winds; and not till the standard of immediate emancipation was raised did the magnitude and difficulty of the work appear. The prodigious work was undertaken and has been prosecuted with a self-denial, perseverance, and integrity, rarely to be met in the history of our race. But through a merciful providence its friends breasted the waves of hostility and toiled on. And they toiled not in vain. Victories have followed in rapid succession.

The cause in this state had made gratifying progress in proportion to the means. No regular agent had been in the field. The editor of the Liberty Standard had done as much such work as his other duties would allow, and others had done some. Beside the papers, twenty-five thousand five hundred copies of the monthly "Seventy-six," and fifty thousand pages of tracts had been put in circulation, and seven thousand extra papers. The religious department of the

work had been vigorously pursued by Methodists, Freewill Baptists and Baptists, and by many Congregational churches. The Universalist state meeting had affirmed antislavery principles.

The political was now the leading department of the great conflict. There the people could face directly the main fortress of the slave power. "Strip the system of nationality by ballot, and the base monster would prepare to crawl into its coffin." The old parties had more fully than ever before demonstrated their utter worthlessness for this object, but the "Liberty party had appeared on the field like Blücher at Waterloo." Its vote the last year "had produced more effect on the country than the ten years of argument and petitioning, while voting our principles a lie." A table of its votes in four years shows the wisdom of the measure, and the confidence in the integrity of its supporters.

	1840	1841	1842	1843
Maine	195	1,662	4,080	6,746
New Hampshire	111	2,358	3,510	3,594
Vermont	319	2,794	2,091	3,766
Massachusetts	1,415	3,722	6,422	9,173
Connecticut	114	1,319	1,777	1,872
New York	2,808	5,882	7,262	16,349
Pennsylvania	343	850	1,150	2 417
Ohio	984	2,848	5,423	6,761
Illinois	159	527	931	1,954
Michigan	329	868	2,130	3,776
Indiana			900	1,684
Wisconsin				78
Total	6,777	22,830	35,676	58,170

The vote in 1840 was one in four hundred. In 1843, one in forty! Slavery was falling in Russia,

in French West Indies, in South America, in Swedish dependencies, and in British East Indies twelve millions passed from slavery to freedom in an instant. "We enter, then, upon the extraordinary labors, trials, and self-denials of another year with renewed faith and unflinching integrity, for the year of jubilee is coming." Strong, able resolutions were adopted, officers elected, and the society adjourned with new inspiration for another ten years' conflict.

The State Liberty Convention was held on Friday at Augusta in the Representatives Hall, General Fessenden, President. Such was the unity of active antislavery men in the duty of using their ballots as well as other powers for Liberty, and that "moral suasion" which did not sway the ballot where it was legitimate had no morality in it, but was hypocrisy, that nearly the whole body at Hallowell went up to Augusta. The leading object of the convention was the nomination of a candidate for governor for 1844. This was done with entire unanimity by nominating General James Appleton. Strong resolutions were discussed and adopted asserting the Constitutional rights of Liberty and the moral duty and fixed purpose to sustain them without compromise; and that this could be done only through the Liberty party. Complete organization in counties and towns was vigorously urged, and that the greatest possible dissemination of intelligence among the people be carried on. After completing its business the convention adjourned, ready for the struggle of the presidential year. It was a rich week to those who attended the meetings, and its influence was soon felt over the state.

County meetings followed rapidly and vigorously in all the counties of the state. The one in Kennebec was of unusual interest. That county was too inactive the last year, and Whigs said abolitionists were coming back; and the purpose now was to see about that. The convention was held in Winthrop, February 22, and the roll of members counted one hundred and thirty from twenty-five towns. President, R. G. Lincoln; Vice-presidents, Seth May, P. Morton; Secretaries, H. Waters, H. P. Torsey; Committee, A. Willey, D. Bailey, J. A. Metcalf.

Resolutions said, that past success of the Liberty party afforded abundant reason to thank God and take courage; that two thousand voters shall, if possible, be enrolled as members of the association by the first of August; that slavery is a political institution, aggressive, wielding the power of the nation for its own advantage, and its two great agents are the Whig and Democratic parties; that the Liberty party is the only party that pretends to take only such men for rulers as the Bible describes; that God's law is the supreme law of the land, and all political action should be controlled by religious principles; that the Liberty party is a party of principle first and policy next, the others, of policy first and last.

A Liberty Association was formed. The constitution was reported and adopted by a unanimous rising vote. Its preface was the words of Washington: "There is but one proper and effectual mode by which the overthrow of slavery can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority, and this so far as my suffrage can go shall not be wanting." "The

object of the association shall be the concentration of our moral and political power for the destruction of slavery, according to the principles of the Father of our country." The design was to have an alliance with the county organization in every town, and every town one in every school district; to furnish all the people with papers, tracts, and lectures, and obtain the names of all Liberty voters.

The resolutions were discussed with great interest by May, Randall, Willey, Bailey, E. Thurston, Lincoln, Waters, Wells, and others, afternoon and evening. Special interest was taken on determining the number of votes they would get. "This large and spirited convention then adjourned."

The Seventh Annual Meeting of the Somerset Antislavery Society was unusually large and interesting, the roll numbering one hundred and five. It was attended by Seth May, Austin Willey, and a fugitive, named Chambers, told what slavery had been to him, and stirred every true heart. The Lincoln County Antislavery Society was held at Bowdoinham, Samuel Pickard Esquire, President. The editor of the Standard attended, as he did a large part of the other county meetings, in addition to all his other work. Milton Clark had also returned to the state, and added much to the interest of this and other conventions. The county societies kept up their annual meetings, and county liberty conventions were added often in connection.

The political issues did not divert attention from the religious. It was impossible to expel slavery from political fellowship and toleration while it was so held in the church, where it found its great for-

tress of moral strength. If slavery was fit to be in the church it was fit to be in the state, and if slaveholders were fit for the church, were they not fit for civil office?

Mr. Horace Waters, then an active antislavery man in the Baptist church in Augusta, now in New York, writes that a member of that church went to Texas, purchased a slave and kept him till he was about to return, when he sold him. "When complained of he said he bought him to prevent his being sold to worse hands," and that he was an "involuntary slave-holder." The defence was accepted, but after getting more light on slavery his conscience compelled him to admit that his purchase of the slave was a voluntary act. For this confessed falsehood he was expelled.

In 1842 resolutions were offered in that church in substance, that the government of a Baptist church was in itself alone, and Jesus Christ commanded it to "have no fellowship with works of darkness"; that slave-holding was a heinous sin against God, therefore we cannot receive a slave-holder to our church, our communion, or our pulpit; and we hold it to be a religious duty to pray and labor, by every lawful means, for the liberation of the slaves "as bound with them." These were rejected by the church, when sixty-three members asked dismission to form a new church. This was refused, and they all withdrew and formed the Second Baptist Church in Augusta, Horace Waters, Clerk. So the great struggle went on in all religious systems and institutions to cast out this prince of devils.

CHAPTER XIX.

ANNEXATION OF TEXAS. TEXAS ACQUIRED BY ROBBERY. PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1844. THE DESPERATE CONFLICT. RELIGIOUS ACTION. CASSIUS M. CLAY. ACTIVITY. STATE CONVENTIONS. ELECTORS AT LARGE. A FLAG BY THE LADIES. STATE ELECTION. NATIONAL TICKET. VIRGINIA. CHRISTIAN POLITICS. THE GREAT FORGERY. ELECTORAL VOTE.

THE annexation of Texas was in 1844 squarely before the country and the most prominent question in the presidential election. A more infamous and guilty record it would be difficult to find in any national history. Only the briefest sketch can be given. The slave-holders had never been unaware of the importance of that vast region to their interests, but in later years they saw clearly that the creation of new slave states was the only way by which they could retain the control of the government, and this was their chance. But there were severe difficulties, and it had been a prominent object of the Whig-Tyler administration to prepare the way. Daniel Webster could not quite stand the demand as Secretary of State and resigned. Mr. Upshur, a slave-holder, was appointed in his place, but soon died. Then John C. Calhoun took his place, — the right man for the work.

In the Louisiana purchase from France in 1803, the western boundary between that and Mexico, then belonging to Spain, was not defined, and both Spain and Mexico claimed Texas. Negotiations, however,

soon agreed on the Sabine River, but the intense anxiety of the slave-holders to get possession of Florida, then belonging to Spain, in order to break up that refuge of fugitive slaves, induced the government to cede to Spain all our claims on Texas, in part payment for Florida, in 1819. It was then a part of Mexico by perfect title. All claims of the United States, good or bad, had been sold for value received. It was probably intended to repossess it at some time, but soon Mexico won its independence of Spain, and became a nation. Efforts were now made to purchase Texas. Jackson offered near five million dollars, but Mexico would not sell, perhaps for the purpose of giving it to liberty, for in 1829 the Mexican President proclaimed liberty through all the Mexican Republic! Did this "land of liberty" send back the echoes of cheers and congratulations? Instead of that, plots of villainy were concocted to seize Texas and doom it to slavery, and by connivance of the government and its officials! Where was the religion of Him who "came to preach deliverance to the captives"? The books will be opened.

Slave-holders, with the most reckless population in the southwestern states, rushed into Texas, which had but few inhabitants, taking their slaves with them in defiance of Mexican law. Large numbers poured in, well armed and with secret agencies and organizations for the unconcealed purpose of wresting Texas from Mexico and making it first independent, then a slave state. Sam Houston, an intimate friend of the President, and afterward a member of Congress, went to Texas as a leader for this avowed purpose,

was supported by the South and essentially by the government, civil and military. On the third of March, 1836, the independence of Texas was proclaimed. Mexico resisted this atrocious rascality but without success, and at the battle of San Jacinto in April Santa Anna, President of Mexico, was defeated and taken prisoner. In this condition he agreed to recognize Texan independence, but Mexico rejected the agreement made by a prisoner. Still it would help cover the infamy, and immediately after the battle Calhoun announced the independence of Texas, and its annexation as soon as possible. Its independence was recognized in 1837, but Van Buren, now President, rejected annexation. This once he faltered in the service of slavery. Texas had been sold and paid for; the parties were at war and the treaty with Mexico must be respected. To annex Texas was to take the side of the proslavery bandits in the war. Here the plot halted during that administration. So strong was the expression at the North by all parties, and such men as Webster, Adams, and others, that it was deemed impolitic to put it in open issue in 1840. They must elect a right president before there could be success, and unexpectedly the Whigs had furnished the man.

Tyler's administration was vigilantly used in promoting this supreme object of the slave power. The population of Texas was largely increased with the right materials, and Van Buren's re-election must be defeated. The South must be instructed in what the Secretary of State said was "absolutely essential to its salvation," and consolidated into a unit with the

inflexible purpose to demand immediate annexation at whatever cost, wrong, or crime, and to "fire the southern heart" with the war-cry, "Now or never!"

Great Britain had exerted much influence on Mexico, as she had on other countries, for the abolition of slavery, and an effort was made by people in this country and in England to induce Texas to do the same. This aroused the despots, who raised the cry against British interference, with threats of war. Some antislavery societies were formed in Texas, but the slave power had become too strong, and effort failed. The British government nobly replied to charges of interference, that "it would continue to exert all its appropriate influence for the abolition of slavery throughout the world." But we "were not at all ashamed." Effort was made to induce Mexico to abandon its claims on Texas; but its Minister replied with keen dignity, "If Mexico should lend her deference to the policy of the Executive of the United States, the reproach and censure of nations ought to be her reward." Which was the civilized, Christian nation?

Legislative and conventional action was extensively adopted at the South in support of the great plot of brigands, and by the time Congress met in 1843 the cry had become extensive there — "Texas or disunion." The Texan President even demanded that the United States should assume the Mexican war, but this audacity was a little too much, although it had long done it secretly. In April a treaty of annexation was concluded with Texas and laid before the Senate, and every possible invention of artifice, bri-

bery, and delusion brought to its support. Never had such stupendous knavery appeared before that body, and instead of the requisite "two-thirds" vote in its favor, it was rejected, sixteen to thirty-five. Five of the sixteen were from the North, including James Buchanan of Pennsylvania and Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire. The former was rewarded with the Presidency, the latter with a place on the Supreme Bench. While the general government was thus loaded with work for slavery, Mr. Campbell, of South Carolina, offered a resolution in the House, "That all efforts made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery were dangerous to the Union, and ought not to be countenanced." Such was the audacity of the tyrant power for purposes of deception.

The action of the Senate brought the question of annexation before the nation and stirred the North as never before. It was not only a question of slavery but of war. Texas and Mexico were at war and if the nation took Texas it took the war with it. The shrewd conspirators had prepared for a last resort to political partyism as the only power desperate enough to carry the plot through. "Anything for party." By this they had won every victory, and it was determined to make it the great issue in the presidential election of 1844. Mr. Van Buren was the choice of the Democratic party in the North, and he received a decided majority in the nominating convention, but the slave-holders had provided for this by securing a two-thirds rule. He was thus defeated, and James K. Polk, a slave-holder and pronounced for Texas

was nominated. The convention dared not commit the party to annexation, but "recommends" that, and the re-occupation of Oregon "to the cordial support of the Democracy of the Union." Thus voters could vote the ticket without directly voting for annexation, and if the object could be accomplished before Tyler's term expired the party would escape.

Mr. Clay was the Whig candidate and every possible effort, however unscrupulous, was made to represent him at the North as opposed to annexation. He was a large slave-holder, ever true to slavery, — the "Great Compromiser" of liberty; his motto, "What the law makes property *is* property." It was well known that he was in favor of Texan annexation with its slavery, if in the right manner, but so strong were the representations of him at the North as opposed to it, that his supporters at the South compelled him to come out without disguise, which he did, August 16. He said, "Slavery should have nothing to do with the question," and so far from having any personal objections to the annexation of Texas, I should be glad to see it on just and fair terms." In other words, Let me do it. This tremendous blow nearly silenced the Whigs, and fully justified the Liberty party in its position and defence against relentless hostility. Probably it caused his defeat.

That presidential campaign was the severest crisis in the history of the grand, Christian, patriotic enterprise to create a new political power, by which alone our dying country could be rescued and restored to justice and honor. Had it faltered and compromised then, all would have been lost. Slavery had lived and

fattened on compromise, and both must die together, if at all. The Liberty party was guided by the broadest intelligence, the soundest reasoning, the ablest statesmanship in the land; and far more, it listened to a higher Voice, and in reply to all similar seductions heard, "Get thee behind me, Satan!" and followed the example. Who will now say we did wrong? We held the only true flag of constitutional liberty before the country, the flag of Washington, of Warren, and of Jefferson, and by it we stood amidst the tempest regardless of numbers while the Almighty was at our side. There we intended to stand till the country returned to its old heraldry of Liberty, and the infernal despotism of slavery should be seen "falling like lightning from heaven." There was no known end to the accusations and excuses that filled the air, "fanatics," "one idea," "throwing away votes," "voting for the worst party," "can't elect," "killing the cause," "one step at a time," "half a loaf," etc.; but such foolishness, such repudiation of personal citizenship, such violation of moral law which covers the ballot, was treated as it deserved and our growth of power exceeded our anticipation.

When all else failed to protect woman-whipping politics, reputation of those who caused the most trouble, by fair, invincible truth, was made plunder. One queer specimen from a stump speech by a Whig lawyer happens to be preserved. Mr. —— was proceeding in his harangue against the leaders of the Liberty party, as he termed them, when he came to a particular one. "And there is Willey," said he, with a most contemptuous leer, "there is Willey! And

who is Willey, and what is he? What is his character and reputation? Go to the people of Hallowell, — they know him, they know what he is, and who he is. Ask them, they will tell you. Go ask that good old Deacon D. He will tell you who Willey is." He was afterward asked what he had ever heard Deacon D. say against him. "O, nothing," said he. "I did not say I had. I only told you to ask him."

Not long after, the Whigs proposed a public discussion in Hallowell, which was readily accepted, and it continued seven evenings, much longer than they desired, though it was well attended. A Whig said at the close that "there was but one side, and the debate would add fifty per cent to the Liberty vote." One wrote from another town: "We have to deal not only with indirect slave-holders and abettors, but with direct slave-holders and slave-catchers, who, acting in concert with no small number of religious slavery supporters, easily create a prejudice in the community not easily eradicated."

It was a favorable time for the Christian Mirror to develop its hostility to the whole cause by practically falling into the line of political, especially Whig, hostility and attack the character of prominent men — Birney, Leavitt, Stanton, and in Maine, the editor of the Standard, with determination to drive him from his position. "We repeat — our business is with Mr. W." And many ministers felt severely the attack from the same source. That paper was owned by the Maine Missionary Society; and so strong was the objection to being thus implicated in its course, that the society transferred it to the editor.

There was progress in the General Methodist Conference in 1844 at Philadelphia. The Baltimore Conference had deposed a minister for holding a slave. The case was appealed, but the action sustained, one hundred and seventeen to fifty-six. Bishop Andrew was found to be a slave-holder, and after exciting discussion of several days it was "voted that he desist from the exercise of his office"; one hundred and ten to sixty-eight; but only from "expediency." Still it had effect, and the southern delegation entered their protest. The rule against colored testimony was also repealed. That system was rocking.

The Baptist Triennial Convention that year took the position of entire neutrality on slavery. It was declared "unconstitutional" to have anything to do with it in connection with missions. Of course, there could be no discount on slave-holders in the organization, or as missionaries. Judge Jay, son of John Jay of the Revolution, wrote at this time: "Our strength lies in rigid adherence to our principles. The Church, the great bulwark of slavery, is shaken, and the Liberty party is troubling the politicians."

Cassius M. Clay, a slave-holder of Kentucky, had become enlightened on slavery, and with heroic courage enlisted for its abolition. He was a man of power and eloquence with speech and pen, and did the cause great service. True, he advocated the election of Henry Clay in many speeches at the North, but put so much antislavery into them that the net profit was questionable. He assailed slavery in his own state fearlessly, and published an antislavery paper.

He was threatened but defied it, although his paper was destroyed twice. He early emancipated his slaves, and stood by the cause until it triumphed.

Against every possible endeavor the great conflict of Bunker Hill was renewed, and moved on toward victory. It will ever be a mystery in history that such a cause must meet such resistance from such a people. Sad as it is, the fact must stand until "the books are opened." But who ever looked back upon the sacrifices, weary toils, and mental sufferings which only the Infinite ever knew, inevitable in this war, with any other sentiment than gratitude for being allowed a share in such a cause? By our side lay the two and a half millions pleading in agony; our country was on the brink of ruin, and the battle was for the "reign of the King of kings." Who would not glory in bearing even "in his body the marks," the wounds and scars of the conflict, though despised and rejected of men? We studied our cause, but imperfectly perceived its sublime magnitude.

Never had there been such activity in Maine. The circulation of the Standard and other antislavery papers was increasing, the circulation of four page tracts, one thousand four hundred pages for one dollar, was reaching the people all over the state, containing great speeches and other such matter as they needed to know. Meetings and conventions were multiplying, and nominations made for all offices. The committee of the state society met and appointed Rev. C. C. Cone as agent of the society. This gave new energy. Milton Clark was also doing excellent service in the state, — work so effective that

his character was foully attacked. He well knew Henry Clay. He had suffered and barely escaped ruin from him, and gave the Whigs much information of their candidate.

A very large and enthusiastic State Convention was held in Bangor, June 20th and 21st, to nominate two electors at large, and otherwise promote the cause. Rev. H. H. Gannet, an able and excellent colored minister from Troy, New York, was there, and added much to the power of the meeting. Colonel Miller from Vermont, an eloquent speaker, increased the interest. Samuel Fessenden and Drummond Farnsworth were chosen for electors at large, and vigorous measures adopted to inform the people, complete organizations in all the towns, and bring out the largest possible vote at the September state election. Another State Convention followed in Hallowell, June 24th and 25th, to stir up that region of the state, and enlighten the people. It also secured still wider usefulness from our visitors from other states. It was large, vigorous, and convincing.

The ladies of Hallowell did a noble thing. They procured a national flag with the names of Birney and Morris inscribed on it, and a large meeting was held in the town hall on an evening for its presentation. It adorned the hall, and the meeting being called to order, the following eloquent note was read:

The Liberty women of Hallowell present this flag to the Liberty Association of Hallowell, and to the Liberty party in Maine. Accept it as the expression of our affection for the noble cause in which you are engaged, and as the language of the encouragement we would afford you. Receive it, throw it to the breeze with the honored names inscribed upon it, defend it, until the slaves repose in security beneath its folds.

Many grateful acknowledgements were made expressing the pleasure and encouragement conferred, and the obligation to fidelity imposed on the Liberty party in Maine. "The women have presented them a banner — it is theirs to honor it. There can be no more faltering or fear, when the ladies unfurl such a banner over their heads. This national emblem shall never strike till it waves over the land of the free." Seth May, Esquire, then made a forcible address. The flag was elevated on the top of a building opposite our office where it waved beautifully to the breeze, saying to every beholder, *Our countrymen are in chains — we go to free them!* No ballot power in their hands could have equalled this. But that flag was often assailed.

Elder Whitney did the cause valuable service as agent of the state society. He lectured and labored faithfully, basing his arguments on appeals to the Bible.

The state ticket for Liberty for 1844 was as follows: For Governor, James Appleton. Representatives to Congress, Burleigh Smart, Samuel Fessenden, Seth May, Charles C. Cone, Drummond Farnsworth, James Bowen, (Twenty-eighth Congress,) Asa Walker, Samuel M. Pond. Senators: First District, Theodore Wells, Gilbert Tarbox, Nathaniel Lord; Second District, Sargent Shaw, Charles Walker, Enoch Pratt, Samuel Small; Oxford, John Pike, George French, Ira Bartlett; Somerset, Eleazer Coburn, Stephen Williamson; Lincoln, John Boynton, Peleg Wadsworth, Robert Murray, Samuel Pickard; Penobscot, Edward Fairfield, Timothy George, Samuel M.

Knights; Hancock, Stephen Wardwell; Washington, Peter Talbot; Franklin, Elnathan Pope. Representatives were also nominated generally in the state, also all county officers.

With the Liberty party in the field the success of the Whig party in Maine was utterly hopeless. This several years had demonstrated, and this was the decisive period. If the Liberty party could not be broken down in this presidential year it would be hopeless. This made the contest desperate. The Democrats were positive in their hostility, but they would not be the immediate sufferers from the Liberty party, and largely left the struggle to the Whigs, who pressed it with desperate zeal. Men and money were ready, their papers filled the state, and no arts were omitted. The rights of citizens to combine and vote as they please, were raided and trampled under foot, personal detraction was raised to a tempest, and no false statement was corrected. The Liberty party had but two papers of moderate circulation, and no means of seasonably reaching the people with the truth. If with such conditions the party could hold its ground, its ranks unbroken, it would be victory even if it made no increase of numbers.

Mr. Clay must be represented at the North as opposed to the annexation of Texas. Ex-Governor Kent, Senator Evans, the press, all had to say to the people, "Mr. Clay is opposed to annexation," while he was saying, "I should be glad to see it," and its effects on slavery should be no obstacle. A difficult box indeed; and the only refuge was in keeping the truth from the people till after election and charge

the abolitionists with lying for telling it. Then he was a chieftain of duelists, concerned many times in these murders, with their blood upon him. When the current mottoes are recollected, — "All 's fair in politics," "Religion has nothing to do with politics," — some correct view of the desperate conflict of the time can be obtained. Here was one candidate sought to be raised to the head of this professed Christian nation, and by his side James K. Polk, a devoted hero of the meanest, cruelest, guiltiest despotism that ever existed on earth, — "the sum of all villainies," — as a competing candidate, under the flag of Democracy! But none could deny that both fairly represented our country as it was. "And my people loved to have it so."

But there is hope. Gideon is in the field! "Yet have I left near seven thousand in Maine, all the knees which have not bowed to Baal, and every mouth which has not kissed his lips." The ranks of Liberty are unbroken. Not a position had been lost, its organization completed, its fearless integrity demonstrated, the confidence of thousands won for the future, and its potential power much increased by the training of battle. The returns of the state elections for governor were as follows, by counties:

Penobscot	901	Lincoln	496	Somerset	560
Kennebec	743	Hancock	114	Aroostook	27
Piscataquis	305	Washington	90	Waldo	529
Franklin	488	York	585		
Cumberland	910	Oxford	616	Total	6364

Thus the flag of liberty and Christianity, which the noble women presented, waves before the state, pro-

tected by its dauntless defenders. There was not a moment's rest. Work was at once renewed for the presidential election. The Whigs sometimes united with Liberty men in public discussions. One such was arranged in St. Albans by a committee of each party and well advertised. A large gathering listened, but with such results that the Whigs soon declined such debates. Democrats had carried the state by ten thousand four hundred and forty-one over the Whigs, electing Anderson for governor, a large majority in the legislature, and representatives to Congress in districts one, two, and six. In four, five, and seven there was no election, and Cone, Farnsworth, and Pond stood for another vote. Severance, Whig, was re-elected in district three. The Whig party was sixteen thousand six hundred and eighty-seven in minority against its utmost possible endeavors.

Here was the national ticket for Liberty, 1844.

For President.

JAMES G. BIRNEY.

For Vice-President.

THOMAS MORRIS.

Electors at Large.

SAMUEL FESSENDEN,	DRUMMOND FARNSWORTH.
Dist. 1, Henry Hobbs.	Dist. 5, William R. Hunt.
Dist. 2, Nathaniel Pease.	Dist. 6, Leonard Hathaway.
Dist. 3, Charles Morse.	Dist. 7, Thomas D. Smith.
Dist. 4, Zury Robinson.	

Uncompromising energy was the characteristic of the great cause in all the free states, New York at the front in the middle states, and Ohio at the west. Antislavery papers were constantly increasing. The states had chiefly taken their work into their own

hands, and the old societies and their adherents, supporting Mr. Garrison's policy of disunion and hostility to the Liberty party, were fast disappearing.

Indications of hopeful significance began to appear over the line. A Liberty convention was held in Ohio County, Virginia, in September, which adopted sound resolutions, nominated a full electoral ticket, and issued an able address "To the People of Virginia," in its support. It went back to the Declaration and principles on which the nation was founded, maintained that the national government was for liberty, showed its awful apostasy and ruin, and the duty of the people to redeem it. The resolutions declared that "God had ordained civil government for the public good; that slave-holding is clearly condemned by the Bible, and utters its 'woe unto him that uses his neighbor's service without wages'"; that "both the old parties support slavery"; they therefore "organized the Liberty party in Virginia from a sense of duty to God, determined to support no man or party that is not governed by the Bible, to the laws of which all other laws must conform." Where now is this religion of the country, tested by the standard raised in that old slave state forty years ago? In spite of all opposition, truth was silently working its way south. Liberty papers were receiving circulation there, one in Ohio having an order for twenty copies from Tennessee in one day. This powerful address was published in Wheeling, Virginia, in pamphlet and sent over the state. Had the North been true, had its religion been that of the

Bible, slavery would soon have fallen before it, and the "King of kings" received the glory!

Another important indication of disintegrating progress was seen in New York. Mr. Van Buren's repudiation by the South because not servile enough, was a heavy blow upon his party in that state. It opened many blind eyes. They saw that voting for Polk was voting for Texas, no matter with what conditions; and a convention was called of Democrats to take organic action in favor of supporting the Liberty ticket. Strong accession of strength for that party was thus received, and this tendency from that party increased in subsequent years, and became a powerful element in the final decision. Similar action was taken to some extent in other states, by Democrats. Texas annexation was perhaps more than any other the pivotal question on which the final destiny turned.

The Liberty party, unlike any other in history, was founded on moral principles—on the Bible, originating a contest not only against slavery but against atheistic politics from which Divine law was excluded as an American sentiment. "Religion has nothing to do with politics," was the common law of political life, and had to be encountered. Among our political tracts were, "Politics and the Bible," "Appeal to Christians, Ministers, and Churches," etc., and columns of passages from the Bible, sermons, and other articles, had prominence in our papers. Many ministers were embarrassed by the political department of the cause, and some were silenced. But others

boldly covered even that field with the Bible, and exposed deceitful sophistries used to hold voters in support of slavery.

Rev. Dr. Bushnell, of Connecticut, said on the "the least of two evils" rule of voting :

I most deeply pity such an alternative. Merciful God! has it come to this, that in choosing rulers we are simply to choose between seven devils or ten? Is this the alternative offered to our consciences and our liberties! "Hear the word of the Lord," — there is your standard; and if you do this and the worst man is elected, the fault is theirs and not yours. There was never a maxim more corrupt, more totally bereft of principle. In the case of moral evils, if you choose either you are implicated before God in the guilt. A vote is by no means thrown away because it is not in the majority. Give it in as a token of incorruptible principle. Our politics are now our greatest immorality, and what is most of all fearful, it sweeps through the church of God, and taints the very disciples of the Redeemer.

Dr. Lyman Beecher said :

If by refusing to vote for one bad man his worse opponent is elected am I not as responsible as if voting for him directly? *No.* I am accountable for my own conduct only. If others elect bad men, for their conduct I am not answerable.

Such was the high plane to which the Liberty party toiled and sacrificed in Maine and generally in other states to lift our corrupted country; but its predominant religion resisted, and future history must record the consequences.

The presidential campaign approached its close. The sagacious policy of the slave power, to insure their plot of Texan annexation by chaining it to party through the nomination of reliable candidates in both parties, so that the whole force of party idolatry would be enlisted in its favor, was now a success whoever might be elected. The slave-holders well knew the

North would stand anything for party, and by that they again conquered.

There stands our once glorious country, purchased and consecrated to Liberty by the blood of patriots whose graves were scarcely grown over with green, formed in procession to record its sovereignty. At the head are two representatives of American paganism, — "the sum of all villainies," — leading on the servile North with its Christian churches fresh from pulpits and communion tables, Texas on their banner, and trampling upon three millions of broken hearts as it moves on to sanction a plot of knavery unsurpassed, by which the two hundred and fifty thousand relentless tyrants sought to rule this nation permanently in their own interests! But the inveterate war on the protesting friends of Liberty must culminate in one crowning deed of infamy. Mr. Birney, the pure, noble, Christian man, who had sacrificed distinction, wealth, and profession for his country and its helpless victims, already had been attacked by the Whigs "as an old, broken-down slave-driver," a "reformed drunkard," a "run down politician," a "licentious scamp," etc. But one invention remained. Just before election, with no time for correction, a forged letter was issued with his name, and sent all over the country, representing himself as having gone over to the Democrats, and "pledged to their men and measures." Nearly the whole Whig press published it, generally affirming its genuineness, but some afterward saying they believed it a forgery as nearly every man did.

But "all 's fair in politics." It appeared afterward

that this infamous plot was the work of the committee of the Whig party in Michigan, where Mr. Birney now resided. To make it more effective their tools swore to the truth of the letter. Such was political corruption for party! Is it any less now? But although the forgery and perjury reduced the vote for Liberty, a just Providence defeated its design and hastened to the sepulcher the party, in the interests of which it was perpetrated. It was believed we lost at least one thousand votes in Maine, in the interior of which Mr. Birney was not well known, and where the truth was too late.

The following gives the presidential vote of Maine in 1844:

	Polk.	Clay.	Birney.		Polk.	Clay.	Birney.
York	5,117	3,216	453	Oxford	4,395	1,887	397
Cumberland	6,367	4,483	695	Somerset	2,530	2,849	435
Lincoln	5,354	4,556	461	Penobscot	4,895	3,375	695
Hancock	2,608	1,849	105	Waldo	4,661	1,826	316
Washington	2,605	2,329	77	Piscataquis	1,136	1,074	228
Kennebec	3,535	5,393	561	Franklin	1,609	1,132	392
Aroostook	907	398	21				
				Total	45,719	34,367	4,836

The loss of votes was no loss of strength to the Liberty party, but to the party that caused it. Its outrage upon the rights of citizens, its foul attacks on character and insults to virtue, its untruthfulness, culminating in the great forgery,—all was transferred into capital for liberty and righteousness. It only made the friends of freedom more determined and active. The circulation of our papers increased, conventional and local action was at once renewed with confidence in final victory. The same was true

in other states. The Liberty party now had demonstrated its integrity and permanency, leaving the Whig party to hopeless disintegration, with the certainty that the Democratic party must follow, and the great revolution be at last achieved. We were fiercely charged with the awful deed of defeating Henry Clay, but that was held as testimony that we could not be cheated, and a confession of power already gained. Here the desperate conflict left us in unbroken line, with the word "*Advance!*" ringing through all the host.

The national vote for Liberty was as follows:

Maine	5,645	Rhode Island	5	Pennsylvania	3,133
Massachusetts	10,830	New Jersey	131	Illinois	2,721
New York	15,812	Indiana	2,106	Michigan	3,632
Ohio	8,050	Vermont	3,970		
New Hampshire	4,161	Connecticut	1,943	Total	63,139.

Polk's majority over Clay, 38,920.

CHAPTER XX.

ANOTHER MARTYR. STATE CONVENTIONS. NOMINATION OF GOVERNOR. SOCIAL MEETING. OTHER STATES. CONGRESS. ANNEXATION CARRIED. THE SHOUT! HOW IT WAS DONE. JOHN P. HALE. FLORIDA AND IOWA ADMITTED. COST OF SLAVERY. RELIGIOUS ACTION. "NO LAW" FOR MILLIONS!

THE reader will remember Rev. Charles T. Torrey and his valuable labors in Maine. He was a cultivated, devoted Christian, with a large heart so inspired with sympathy for the poor slaves that he could not withhold any effort in their behalf. From Massachusetts he went to Maryland, and was there in 1843 when a slave-holders' convention was held. He went to it as a newspaper reporter, and was arrested on various pretenses and put in jail; but after long delay he was released. As a reporter in Congress he did the cause valuable service. With his family he resided in Baltimore, and in 1844 was arrested, both under the laws of Maryland and Virginia, for aiding the escape of slaves, and put in jail. There he lay suffering month after month, the friends of freedom all over the country contributing money to aid his defence, and if possible get an appeal to the United States Court. At last the case came to trial in Baltimore, and the jury, of course, found him guilty by perjured testimony of slave-dealers, as he affirmed, and he was sentenced to six years in prison. This case caused much excitement in this country and in England, and aided in revealing slavery to the world.

There were his wife and two children with no means of support, and he was able to get a delay of sentence so that he could finish a book, "Home, or the Pilgrim's Faith Revived," the sale of which he hoped would help his family. Then he was sentenced and taken to his prison cell, cold, damp, and foul. There his health declined and his sufferings at last ended in death, another martyr's death for liberty. He boldly maintained that assisting a suffering slave to escape was obeying God's law, whatever human tyranny might decree.

His loving, faithful wife, with their little children, was shut out, but he was not alone. His Saviour was almost visible, and his joy full. When asked if he was ready he said with emotion, "O, yes! O, yes!" and his prison door was opened May 9, 1846. His body was brought to Boston, and an immense throng crowded Tremont Temple at the funeral. An eloquent sermon was delivered by Rev. J. C. Lovejoy. A liberal fund was raised by contributions for the weeping wife and children; over twenty dollars from Hallowell.

The public mind was deeply stirred by this new revelation of the horrible despotism to which the nation was in abject bondage. Torrey's "blood cried," and justice heard at last. The Bey of Tunis at about the same time issued a proclamation, "The Prince of the Tunisian Government, praised be God, hereby declares that we abolish in the whole of our dominions, all property in slaves; and every slave entering our dominions, by land or sea, is that moment free. Remain in the protection of God." Now look at Tor-

rey in his coffin amidst surrounding church steeples, and which was a civilized and which a pagan people?

Three state meetings in Maine were held conjointly in 1845 as in the preceding year: the State Liberty Convention in Augusta, January 21; the Religious Antislavery Convention in Hallowell, January 22; to be followed by the Maine Antislavery Society. The attendance was large, discussions able, and action vigorous. The week gave new energy to the cause. Special thanksgiving to God for his favor to the cause the past year, was offered.

The Liberty Convention met in Augusta and organized, and, after devotional service, proceeded to business. Committees were appointed and resolutions offered reaffirming the principles and objects of the Liberty party, and the unfaltering purpose to stand by them till they prevailed. The conduct of the Whig party was severely denounced, and the annexation of Texas or any other slave territory opposed. Against this the votes for the Liberty party had done vastly more than if cast for either of the old parties. If the nation was to be saved, a new party standing inflexibly on the principles of Liberty must take the government.

The nomination of a candidate for governor was a prominent object of the convention. General Appleton declined a renomination, and General Fessenden was unanimously chosen. Special attention was given to the importance of town organizations all over the state, and to a far greater circulation of antislavery papers. Able speeches were made afternoon and evening, and the convention held over to the

next day. The campaign of 1848 was announced as opened; a State Committee was chosen consisting of A. Willey, D. Farnsworth, J. Appleton, Woodbury Davis, J. E. Godfrey, Eusebius Hale, Jonathan Garland; and business being completed the convention adjourned.

The Religious Convention met in Hallowell in the evening, Honorable D. Farnsworth was chosen Chairman, Simon Page and W. Davis, Secretaries. Prayer by Rev. Mr. Adlam. Committee on resolutions was chosen. One asserted that "slave law is in direct violation of the law of God and the rights of man, and is of no binding force whatever, consequently its violation in aiding fugitive slaves is no crime but a virtue."

The fate of Torrey had turned public attention to the atrocity of slave-holding law as never before, and the debate on it was never equalled in interest and ability in our antislavery history in Maine. "Mr. Willey called attention to the magnitude of the subject, and hoped it would receive careful consideration. The South needs it; a large part of the church and ministry still think it wrong to help slaves to escape, and every citizen has to meet slave law, especially at the polls. And it is no trifle what such law is, when seventy-five thousand infants each year are born its victims." Dr. Tappan, Mr. Stackpole, Rev. Mr. Lawson, and Mr. Brown spoke with different views, when General Fessenden followed with masterly logic and eloquence. The next day it was taken up again and discussed till afternoon, when it was unanimously adopted by a rising vote. Slave law was

found to be mere "legislative villainy," "an everlasting nullity." "Shall we worship the Devil because he is perched behind a statute book? Who can compute our guilt?"

Other resolutions were: "That slave-holding and its advocacy should be a bar to all Christian fellowship; that as the churches in this country have it in their power to bring the accursed system of slavery to a speedy end, they are justly chargeable with the guilt of its continuance; that to justify slavery is virtually to deny the supremacy of Jehovah, and the first principles of Christian theology, and no such man should be ordained; that it is a gross violation of the will of God, and a gross inconsistency of Christian character to favor the election of slave-holders or their abettors to enact laws or administer civil government." These were advocated by Messrs. Fessenden, Peet, Sawyer, Miller, Randall, May, Williams. These conventions were admirable, fraternal, of all denominations, free, sharp but courteous in logic, and did much to advance Christian thought, and hold the cause on a solid moral basis. A fugitive slave was present and added much interest.

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Maine Antislavery Society followed in Hallowell. It re-elected its officers of the preceding year. The Secretary had no written report. Elder Whitney had labored as agent faithfully, but with little support, and Mr. Cone had done valuable service several months. Otis Richardson had also lectured two months with good effect. The meeting then adjourned.

The Eighth Annual Meeting of the Maine Temper-

ance Union was held in Augusta the following week in the hall of the House of Representatives, Governor Anderson, President. It was very large, earnest, harmonious, and its leading aim was to exhibit the liquor traffic as a *crime*, "its criminality not at all lessened when done by law." It asked two things of the legislature: first, the repeal of the license law; second, the enactment of a law for its suppression, with adequate penalties of fines and imprisonment. A committee of Neal Dow and others was appointed to present the case before a committee of the legislature. That great reform was carried on in fraternal relations with that of freedom, and to a large extent by the same class of society. All abolitionists were prohibitionists, and our paper gave that cause its full support. We shall briefly notice its progress. A bill for an efficient prohibitory law was reported in the legislature with a penalty of imprisonment, but was voted down, eighty-seven to forty-four in the House. More than twenty-two thousand petitions had been sent in, but liquor forces were too strong, and nothing was gained.

The cause of freedom which was "killed," they said, last year, was now taking up the work with energy never equalled. In Maine, county conventions and society meetings were held in March and April in all parts of the state and well attended. They all re-affirmed their principles boldly, defended their action, thanked God for progress, and entered on the new campaign of the year with determination and hope. Several county meetings were held in different parts of the same county. In addition to all

my editing and office work, I attended many of these meetings. The circulation of the Standard increased. We had circulated over five hundred thousand pages of tracts and documents in two years, and that work was renewed. Town meetings were held and clubs formed and men found who could spend more or less time in their own counties, holding meetings and circulating papers.

Such were the relations of the Standard to the cause, that it may be allowable to notice one special meeting called by the committee of the Kennebec County Liberty Association, as agreed upon at the county meeting at Winthrop. A call was issued for a "Social Antislavery Donation Party," to meet in Hallowell, March 11, 1845. It said :

> The service that the Liberty Standard had done to the cause of Freedom was laid before the meeting, and all felt how deeply we were indebted to that ably conducted paper for the success which so signally crowned our efforts during the late campaign. Liberty men saw that they had a Standard, that he who held it was able to keep its banner proudly floating amidst the direct opposition of its foes, and will again triumphantly bring it out of another struggle. But all were not aware how great had been the sacrifice by which, on the part of its editor, the paper had been sustained. When this was made known, all resolved that services like his should not be unnoticed and unhonored, and they agreed at once on this Donation Party, to give the editor a substantial proof of their affection and esteem. We invite all to unite with us on that occasion, and that the man who has been abused and maligned so bountifully by others may see that every attempt to injure his name or his influence has signally failed, and that he is still dear to the hearts that are true, and that beat strong with the impulses of freedom.

The occasion was well attended, fine music was prepared, and short addresses were made by Mr. May, Rev. D. Thurston, Mr. Southworth of Bowdoin

College, Rev. Mr. Hawes, Rev. Mr. Sargent, and others. The one hundred and twenty-one dollars left were little compared with the heart cheer of myself and wife. No one will ever know the mental suffering which had to be endured at the front of that conflict. And without such aid the paper could not have been carried on. The loved at home must not suffer. But with the "daily bread" from a Father's hand sweetened with precious affection and esteem, it was a privilege to stand by the suffering slaves. In all free states the renewed inspiration was apparent. New antislavery papers were coming forth, and the circulation of others was increasing — some receiving one hundred in a week, some one thousand in a month. A great Liberty Convention was held in Albany in March, 1845, with attendance from many states. It was a powerful occasion, and its "Address to the People of the United States" was a masterly and irresistible document. It said: "If the Liberty party vote defeated Clay, it had far more power on Congress against annexation of Texas than would ever have come from him." Another similar rally of freemen was in Boston, and Faneuil Hall was filled. Another later, was got up in Cincinnati by S. P. Chase and others. It was said never to have been equalled in the West in numbers and power. It also sent forth its appeal to the country of great strength.

Congress met on the first Monday in December, 1844. President Tyler's message strongly urged the immediate annexation of Texas, claiming that such was the will of the people expressed in the presidential election. Resolutions of admission were intro-

duced in the Senate on the tenth by McDuffie of South Carolina, and the next day Mr. Benton introduced a bill to admit part of it as a state, and hold the remainder as territory, and slavery prohibited west of one hundred degrees of longitude. John P. Hale, Democrat, of New Hampshire, moved in the House to divide the territory between slavery and freedom, but it failed. Mr. Hamlin of Maine moved for a committee of inquiry whether Congress had the power to annex a foreign nation, whether annexation would extend slavery, whether Mexico would have the right to re-conquer it; whether Texas owed debts, and what treaties she had made. His motion was rejected. January 3d, the subject came up again, and slave-holders showed how important Texas was to the South to keep their power in the government, what streams of wealth would flow from her soil and mines by slave labor, and the necessity of annexation for protection against the antislavery movement at the North. It was strongly opposed as an outrage on the Constitution; also by Mr. Giddings as insuring God's judgments on the land for its guilt, but the Joint Resolution passed the House by twenty-two majority. Hamlin, Dunlap, Herrick, White, Democrats, voted Nay, with two Whigs; Cary, Democrat, Yea. It went to the Senate, where it was debated and changes proposed till the twenty-eighth, when it passed by two majority.

Now came the shouts of victory, bon-fires, cannon, illuminations, revelry, and exultation, rarely seen in Washington! The opponents were disappointed and depressed. They anticipated a defeat in the House,

if not in the Senate; but the slave-holders were shrewder. They had forced the issue into the national election; a zealous advocate had been elected, the party bound to it, and the whole patronage of the government was to be subject to fidelity on this question. What power remained in American politics against all this? Nothing — and the slave-power knew it. No infamy, no guilt, no degradation of the past, black as it had been, equalled this. This pretended Christian nation had become a band of Texan robbers, and the shouts at its capital were echoed back from the infernal regions. We had stolen from our weaker neighbor a new and vast "field of blood" where the lash and chains were to do their best, the demand stimulate the supply of human-stock-breeding in the old slave states, and the most pagan despotism on earth, armed with new power, still pervert our government to its Whig and Democratic rascality. And why was this? First, neither of the old political parties could oppose the plot and live. Second, their press must follow the necessities of the parties. Third, religion was "in bondage," as it still is, to political partyism. The religious press alone, by its timely fidelity, might have defeated this terrible plot. All was a sacrifice to *party*, "the image of Omnipotence here below." But antislavery men had done their utmost from the first to inform and warn the people of this strategy of rascality, and voted as they talked. This was their joy, and will be the joy of their children's children though slandered and derided.

An attempt was made in the legislature of Maine

to pass resolutions approving of annexation, before the measure passed, but it was found too hazardous, and dropped. General Appleton, then a member, made an able speech against it.

Mr. Polk was inaugurated, and the party must come into line on Texas, although not hitherto united. John P. Hale of New Hampshire was in nomination for re-election to Congress by the Democratic party. He had always been positive in opposition to the whole scheme, and was now called upon to define his position, which he did in a letter to his constituents, boldly, manfully declaring his unequivocal hostility to that whole plot, "eminently calculated to provoke the scorn of earth and the judgment of Heaven." He told them that if they desired a representative who would support that measure, to substitute some other name for his on their ticket. No nobler position was ever taken by an American statesman.

He was at once attacked by his party press; a convention was called February 12, 1845, at which he was denounced by Franklin Pierce, the servile, and others, and his name struck from the ticket. But his friends rallied with the Liberty party in his support, and defeated the election by one thousand votes. This encouraged him and he returned from Washington and went before the people for the next trial. A powerful debate with Pierce, in Concord, increased his strength with the people, and the election was defeated by fifteen hundred votes. Other efforts followed, but "Independent Democrats" and Liberty men still held the balance of power and defeated an election.

The Gag rule was repealed at the opening of the session. A large part of northern Democrats voted for the repeal, including Dunlap, Hamlin, Herrick, White, with the two Whigs, Severance and Morse, from Maine; Shepard Cary, Democrat, dodged. This change was by the influence of the Liberty vote.

Florida was yoked with Iowa for admission as states. The constitution of Florida disallowed the legislature to enact any law freeing the slaves, and gave it power to forbid any free colored person coming into the state. Mr. Morse of Maine, and others, made strong resistance to such reckless violation of the Constitution, but without success, and the admission passed the House, one hundred and forty-five to thirty-four, February 13, 1845. This was another victory of the slave-power over the imbecile North by the party lash!

The issue with slavery was far from one of liberty alone. Careful investigation showed that at this date the North had lost since the revolution in Southern credit not less than seven hundred and twenty-nine million dollars; and in excess of its share from the national treasury, two hundred and eighty-four million, making over one billion and thirteen million dollars; and nearly all on account of slavery. The post-office receipts from the North had been ten million dollars over expenses; from the South five million dollars less, — balance, fifteen million dollars.

The indications of a new day in the religious life of the country. in 1845, were hopeful. In the Baptist National Anniversary at Providence, the question of slavery came up in connection with missions, and

several days were spent on the subject. A resolution was offered against employing slave-holders as missionaries, the result of which was a division and secession of the southern members. A Southern Methodist Convention was held in Louisville, Kentucky, with one hundred delegates, including their ablest men, with Bishops Soule and Andrews. Separation was strongly urged, and all propositions for reconciliation scorned as absurd. Slave-holding was defended. A committee was chosen to consider the question of separation, and the best method. They reported in favor of separation, which was subsequently accomplished. Thus by moral earthquakes Christianity was rolling off its awful burden. Had abolitionists "labored in vain."

The old school Presbyterian Church adopted the report of a committee, one hundred and seventy to twelve, declaring boldly that "slave-holding is not sin, that the Bible does not require emancipation, to call it sin is to charge the Apostles with conniving at it and it is no bar to Christian communion." And that body had its scores of D. D's. Never was such a blow against the Christian religion seen in the land! Rev. Stephen Thurston, delegate from Maine, boldly rebuked the action, but met with frowns. But theology at Andover and Princeton essentially agreed with it, and the New York Observer and Christian Mirror substantially supported it, after light had been pouring on the subject fifteen years! Was not our country on the verge of ruin?

The Baptist Antislavery Convention in Maine held its meeting in connection with their other state meet-

ings and re-affirmed their position of non-fellowship with slave-holders and their abettors; urged a deeper sympathy for the slaves, and prayer that God would hasten their deliverance. The Congregational Conference of Maine expressed their "dissent" from the Presbyterian General Assembly for "their justification of the system of slavery by appeal to the Scriptures." This was certainly very mild toward pious slave-holders with whom they "maintained fraternal intercourse." Governor Slade of Vermont, asked for the admission of four well educated colored young men to Middlebury College and the answer was, it would take one. They were all gladly received at Dartmouth.

Two facts will aid the reader of history in perceiving what slavery was. One person, named Mann (?), in North Carolina, hired a slave girl of her owner for a year; but she committed some small offense and he undertook to whip her, when she attempted to run away. He fired and wounded her, and was indicted for a cruel and unwarrantable act, not being the real owner. Judge Ruffin of the Supreme Court dismissed the case on the ground that "the right of the master cannot be brought into discussion in a court of justice." In New Orleans a little slave boy of ten years was whipped on his bare back day after day, till the flesh was cut up raw, skinless, festering, and the poor mulatto boy nearly dying in agony. The master had lost a watch, and charged him with stealing it, which the boy denied. The owner was prosecuted, and the decision was, "There is no law by which the owner of the slave can be reached." For three millions of our countrymen "*there is no law!*" What human hearts and hands could be still?

CHAPTER XXI.

OHIO CONVENTION. MEETINGS IN MAINE. VOTE OF THE STATE. GREAT RALLY IN BOSTON. MOB IN KENTUCKY. RELIGIOUS BODIES. ORGANIC SINS. PROGRESS OF LIBERTY. CONGRESS. TEXAS ADMITTED AS A STATE. MAINE ANNIVERSARIES. NEW ORGANIZATION. AGENT EMPLOYED. COUNTY ACTION. GEMS. RELIGIOUS POSITIONS. NEW HAMPSHIRE. JOHN P. HALE ELECTED SENATOR. WAR. FLORIDA. ATROCITIES OF SLAVERY.

THE great convention at Cincinnati, already alluded to, was held June 11 and 12, 1845. More than two thousand delegates were there from Ohio, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Virginia, and some from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York. S. P. Chase called to order, and the following officers were elected: President, James G. Birney; Vice-presidents, one from each state represented. Mr. Chase was chairman of committee on resolutions, and letters were read from William H. Seward, Horace Greeley, Elihu Burritt, Judge Jay, and William Goodell. Mr. Samuel Lewis introduced Mr. Birney in a neat speech, which was responded to with greeting by the three thousand with prolonged applause till the walls of the Tabernacle rang in response. An address of masterly ability had been prepared, "To the People of the United States." It was concise, but occupied two hours in the reading, and held fixed attention throughout. A series of sound, thoughtful resolutions was adopted, affirming the necessity and princi-

ples of the Liberty party, — that it was national and not sectional; that the Democratic party had no right to its name; that as national, "the Liberty party is determined to divorce the general government from slavery, to prohibit it in all places under its jurisdiction, and administer it in harmony with the Declaration of Independence; that we love the Union and will maintain it, but it must be a Union "to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty"; and it urged all men holding these principles to unite in their support. The address was sent all over the land, north, south, and west, and had a powerful effect.

The fourth of July belonged to liberty, and in Maine it was used to great advantage by getting up as many celebrations as possible all over the state. A State Convention was held in 1845 in Portland. The city hall was filled. The moral character of the convention, like all others, was high. A. Drummond was elected President, W. Davis, C. Crafts, Secretaries. Prayer by Rev. Mr. Knowlton. Willey, Stackpole, Reed, and Humphrey were chosen business committee. General Appleton declined the nomination for governor, and General Fessenden was chosen.

The resolutions expressed profound gratitude to God for his favor to the Liberty party, instituted for the glorious purpose of securing liberty throughout the land; that this party maintains the Constitution against slavery, and the other parties, slavery against the Constitution; and this issue is submitted to the people; that it is immorality and crime for the people to support slavery by their political power. Argu-

ments were solid and inspired all to new endeavors. General Fessenden's speech of acceptance was nobls, and all were grateful that we had such a man as candidate for governor.

York County Society held its meeting June 24, in Limington, and a Liberty meeting on the twenty-fifth. A meeting of unusual interest was held at St. Albans, July 4 and 5. It was a rally. At New Portland a great mass meeting was held, June 25 and 26. Lewis Clark had returned to the state, and was present at St. Albans and New Portland. He had improved, and still more deeply reached the hearts of the people. The ladies prepared a picnic dinner, and "Mr. Willey addressed them on the effects of slavery on the conjugal affections."

Kennebec Liberty Convention was held in Wayne, July 11, "and failed not to bring the ladies." Lewis Clark was there. Convention was held in Somerset, in Madison, July 11; in Hancock, at North Penobscot, July 4; in Lincoln, in Woolwich, with the county society, August 14 and 15. Ladies were invited, General Fessenden, Lewis Clark, and A. Willey were there, and the occasion was of special interest. Waldo Convention was at Belfast, August 1, and the afternoon was devoted to West India Emancipation; oration by Rev. E. F. Hedge of Bangor. Oxford Convention was at Paris, August 26; Cumberland Convention at Windham, August 26; Washington County, at Pembroke, August 26; Piscataquis Convention, at Dover, August 27. A Kennebec mass meeting was held at North Leeds, August 21 and 22, of great interest and value to the cause. Men,

women, and children were there in large numbers, — about four hundred, and the people's hearts were stirred. Franklin Convention was at Phillips, August 28. General Fessenden, A. Willey, Seth May, and Lewis Clark attended as many of these meetings as possible, and the progress of the cause among the people was obvious. The women furnished the picnic dinners, and there was some fine music. Large amounts of documents and speeches were distributed. County nominations were made. Many ministers attended these meetings, who were not afraid of politicians.

The political interest in 1845 was small, and the votes of the old parties in Maine were much reduced. The Democrats lost over thirteen thousand five hundred, the Whigs over eleven thousand, while the vote for Fessenden and Liberty was about six thousand. The fire had been kept burning on the altar, and there was steady increase of conviction of truth on the public mind, but no special pressure to bring it to the polls. But the seed would germinate. The loss of the preceding year was essentially recovered. No general agencies had been in the field, and we could not do more than half the work of an agent gratis, outside of the office. The Democratic majority for governor over the Whigs was about eight thousand five hundred, and over all about two thousand. Six Liberty representatives were elected, and a large number in other parties defeated, as the governor might have been, by our votes.

A great convention of the friends of Liberty in the eastern and middle states was held in Boston,

commencing October 1, 1845. Great efforts were made by H. B. Stanton, then a lawyer in Boston, Mr. Leavitt, editor of the Daily Morning Chronicle there, and others, to make it an occasion of great power. A large number went from Maine. Many eminent men were there: Dr. Le Moyne, Pennsylvania; Mr. Goodell, Lewis Tappan, Gerrit Smith, New York; General Hoit, New Hampshire; and letters were read from many others. General Fessenden was chosen President, J. M. Whiton, A. Willey, Secretaries. Committees on roll, on address, on resolutions, on Texas, were appointed. It continued three days, three sessions each day, with increasing interest.

Tremont Temple was filled with three thousand. High moral principles pervaded the convention. The gross wickedness of slavery, — its immeasurable wrongs, cruelties, tyranny; the best means for its abolition; the duty of exercising our political power for this paramount object by authority of God, were the leading themes. The old spirit of New England came back from long banishment and inspired again as in '75. Gerrit Smith reported the address to the people of the United States, showing the alarming condition of the country, its rights against the usurpations of slavery, the necessity for a new party to restore those rights, and the duty of the people. It was a powerful appeal. The resolutions presented the Constitutional rights which in long array were antagonized by slavery. A report was made on Texas, showing the people the history and objects of that atrocious villainy, and a form of petition against it added. These able papers were spread over the

country, and contributed much to its enlightenment. It was pleasant there to take by the hand Miss Webster, who was imprisoned in Kentucky, charged with aiding a slave to escape.

At this time a great mob in Kentucky seized the press and types of C. M. Clay's "True American" while he was ill with fever, and carried the whole out of the state, assuring him that no abolition paper should be printed in the state. One of Henry Clay's sons was active in the outrage. He was called on by the large committee of sixty to stop his paper, but he positively refused, and afterward re-issued it but had it printed in Cincinnati. However blinded by party prejudice the people were at the North respecting the power of antislavery truth, especially when sustained by the ballot, the slave-holders with alarm saw it constantly permeating southern society, and if tolerated the issue must be met on their own soil. A large part of Liberty papers, ours as one, had southern correspondents, and men there were already avowing their sympathy with the Liberty party. It was this party in which slave-holders saw their danger and confessed it, while at the North it was "throwing away votes." The Friends were at this time starting an antislavery paper in North Carolina. A Friend wrote from that state: "Political Abolition has exerted a more powerful influence on leading men at the South, than any other that could have been adopted."

The attitude of the American Board of Foreign Missions toward slavery that year, received an exhaustive discussion in its meeting and the press. It had

employed a slave-holding missionary, and allowed slave-holders in its churches. At its last anniversary a committee reported on the subject somewhat ambiguously; but the real meaning appeared in the debate. Dr. Bacon said he "wished the report to declare that slave-holding is not intrinsically a sin." Secretary Green, who wrote the report, replied, "that was embodied in the report," which was adopted. It thus stood essentially with the Presbyterian Assembly. Dissent from this painful position increased as conviction advanced, and many churches and individuals gave their support to the Union Missionary Society, which was formed because of the relations of other societies to slavery. The dishonor of Christianity from such alliance with Satan's kingdom was deplorable! At the same time a public protest against the great sin of slavery was issued by one hundred and seventy Unitarian ministers, and the Universalists were preparing another like it.

The great conflict which now rocked the nation was one of "casting out devils." They had been allowed to creep into both church and state in the form of slavery, and there to find a refuge and a home. But the word had gone forth — "In the name of Jesus Christ come out!" Not half way out, not dress and behave a little better, but *come out!* Every artifice of the great Deceiver was persistently employed; every invention of threat, sophistry, and delusion was used to the utmost, for him to be allowed to remain; but the "fanatics" rung it only the louder, *come out!* Politicians did their best with excuses, compromises, expediencies, for their champion's stay in politics and

government; but not less ingenuity was employed to retain him in the church. One invention was, to distinguish between individual and "organic sins." If one does wrong *alone* he is guilty; but if he has enough with him; if society, party, church, country, does so too, he is right. He may "follow a *multitude* to do evil," but must not do it alone. This theory of "organic sins" was a matter of long discussion, and was maintained by doctors of divinity, professors, and ministers. Has religion and morality "cast out" even to this day this deception of "the father of lies," and the fact discovered that all human acts are *individual* acts, for which "every one must give account of *himself*, alone, to God"?

In some states the Liberty vote was not increased in 1845, while in others its advance was large. In Vermont the increase was about two thousand six hundred; making nearly ten thousand. Pennsylvania added largely, and Wisconsin about doubled. Ohio increased nearly one third. The country saw that this party was destined to stay, and grow to power.

Congress assembled the first Monday in December, 1845, and an effort was made to restore the gag, but Mr. Hamlin and others opposed it, and it failed, — one hundred and twenty-one to eighty-four. The resolutions of annexation passed by the last Congress, were accepted by Texas, but it was only as territory. Now the work is its immediate admission as a slave state. This President Polk's message strongly urged; and also to send naval and military forces to protect Texas against Mexico. The final consummation of the guilty plot was now before the country. The second day

Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, presented a joint resolution in the Senate for the admission of Texas as a state, and a day was assigned. Mr. Connell, of Alabama, called for the reading in the House, and moved the adoption. Mr. Rockwell, of Massachusetts, made a powerful speech, and moved to amend by a provision excluding slavery. Great confusion followed, and the motion was rejected. Then came the final vote on admission, — yeas, one hundred and forty-one, nays fifty-six. Dunlap, Hamlin, McCrate, Sawtelle, Williams, of Maine, voted yea, Herrick, nay. In the Senate the vote stood, yeas, thirty-one, nays, thirteen. So the deed was done, and the victory of the slave power completed.

It was a dark night in our country's history. There was the servile North with its vast majority-power armed with its churches, pulpits, presses, institutions, and ballots, now the accomplices, tools, vassals of despotism in consummating a plot of brigands for the open purpose of securing permanent ascendency of the slave power over our country, and the perversion of a government of liberty to the service of bloody tyranny. The friends of liberty "had done what they could" to arouse the people, but their efforts had been opposed to the utmost in church and state, while three millions of suffering victims of this infernal power were sending up their cries to God and man for relief. Was not such an apostate nation hopelessly lost, especially when no confession, no repentance, was heard?

The civilized world uttered its scorn, and remonstrances came even from eminent heathen Chinese. It was political party power which led on the nation

to this guilt and shame. That was the Baal upon whose altar the people had long sacrificed their citizenship, the laws of God, the rights of man and life of their country. The slave power had learned this feature of northern society, and chained their plot to the wheels of party with assured success. But God had raised up a "reserve" as in the days of Ahab, and by that the nation was saved. The "ten" were found, and Sodom escaped.

The state anniversaries were held in Hallowell, and were of unprecedented interest. Rev. Joshua Leavitt, and Rev. J. C. Lovejoy, now of Cambridge, Mass., were in attendance, and much increased the power of the meetings. The Maine Liberty Convention met January 6, 1846, and was called to order by A. Willey. Hon. D. Farnsworth, Chairman; W. Davis and S. Page, Secretaries. Rev. Mr. Sawyer offered prayer. The forenoon was chiefly spent in considering the state of the cause, and measures for its advancement. Afternoon, a "Maine Liberty Association" was formed and a constitution adopted. D. Farnsworth was chosen President; P. Weaver, Secretary; W. R. Prescott, Treasurer; Samuel Fessenden, S. Sewall, R. G. Lincoln, A. Willey, Jeremiah Curtis, Executive Committee. A membership fee of one dollar annually, or ten dollars for life, was required. One hundred and fifty names were at once entered with the money. The convention then balloted for a candidate for governor, and General Fessenden was chosen.

The evening, after a Liberty song and prayer by Rev. Mr. Garland, was occupied chiefly by Messrs.

Leavitt and Lovejoy in speeches of instructive and rare ability on the necessity, objects, and responsibilities of the Liberty party. The next forenoon a committee was appointed to raise the membership and secure otherwise the funds by which an agent could be employed. The following were chosen a state committee: A. Willey, D. Farnsworth, J. Appleton, W. Davis, J. E. Godfrey, E. Hale, J. Garland. The resolutions stated, that the object of the Liberty party was to unite the friends of liberty, to bring back the country to its original principles and objects: that the constitution contains powers enough, if brought into full efficiency, to banish slavery from the country as its framers expected; that the question at issue was that of the existence of civil liberty in the country; that we are encouraged by the past; that Liberty men should regard it as a solemn duty to be always at the polls on election day, and to organize in every town.

The religious convention was called to order by Dr. Tappan. President, D. Farnsworth; Secretaries, Weaver and Davis. Prayer by Dr. Tappan. Committee, Revs. Tappan, Hawes, Lovejoy, Randall, Cole, Williams, Leavitt, Redlon. A season of prayer. The leading themes were the great sin and crime of slavery, and the duty to expel it from all connection with the Christian church, especially its missions. Earnest discussion on the position of the American Board was had by Lovejoy, Tappan, D. Thurston, Randall, Warren, S. Thurston, on the question, Ought slave-holders to be received to mission churches? The discussion on the religious duty of earnest activity for the slaves, was deeply impressive,—by Leavitt, Parker, E. Thurston, Willey, Lovejoy.

The resolutions declared slave-holding a sin against God and man; that active effort for the liberation of the slaves was a religious duty, essential to consistent Christian character; that slavery ought to be separated from the church of Christ and held as barbarism; that its continuance and increase under the gospel as administered for seventy years, calls for humiliation and repentance, and a speedy change; that the admission of slave-holders to mission churches was wrong and should cease; that the condition of the free colored people of the country calls for immediate effort. The attendance was large by ministers and members of all denominations; discussions earnest, kind and able, giving light and inspiration to higher duty. Messrs. Leavitt and Lovejoy did excellent service.

County meetings: Piscataquis, at Sebec, February 4; Cumberland, at Casco, February 11; Oxford at Greenwood, February 17; Somerset, at Madison, March 4; Franklin, at Wilton, March 12; Washington, at Dennysville, March 19; Waldo, a religious convention at Brooks, March 4; Liberty meeting at Corinna, March 20; Lincoln at Edgecomb, March 3; West Waterville, March 13. These meetings were well attended by men and women, the measures of action adopted by the Maine State Liberty Association were efficiently supported. A religious convention was held at Farmington, April 2.

The state committee soon saw that the plan for raising money by membership was to be a success, and they appointed Woodbury Davis as a state agent who at once took the field. Mr. Davis was a young

lawyer of solid ability and Christian character. He was a strong Whig till the Tyler administration cleared his vision, when he enlisted firmly in the cause of liberty and the Liberty party. He said "there was no one whom he so hated as the editor of the Liberty Standard until he adopted its principles; then few were more highly prized." Some two years he labored with the people all over the state with great faithfulness, instructing and persuading them to enlist in the grand, sacred reform, with speech and pen. United in the work and in family life, we were united in fraternal esteem which was never forgotten. Lewis Clark was also in the state, having a sketch of his slave life printed, with other things of special interest for circulation. I left the office for a few weeks and with Davis and Clark attended most of these conventions, lecturing as much as possible beside. Washington county society put Mr. Cone into that field. The year 1846 thus began with higher promise than any preceding.

I cannot omit a beautiful incident about this time. Rev. W. Parker had truly said in the religious convention respecting faithful abolitionists: "Their good names were cast out as evil; the most rigid virtue, tried integrity, and purest Christian reputation, were no shield to them. The tenderest sensibilities of the heart are outraged, and detraction is their daily lot. No man can retain even his Christian standing in reality, who stands by the slaves." What then was the lot of one who stood as the central object of hostility for the whole state?

But now came from a distance some voices so

sweet, so rich, so cheering as to banish every sigh. Were they the voices of the "little ones," or were they "their angels"? Some little presents came to us from the country accompanied by the following notes, and the reader must judge with what pleasure they were read; only three of us, a faithful wife and little girl of six years, a little boy of eight having not long before gone to Him who "took little children in his arms," preceded by four others.

To Mr. Willey:

Two little girls owned this goose,
And they have sent it for your use
Instead of buying toys;
Because they think it true,
That little girls should something do,
As well as men and boys.

LOUISA and JOSEPHINE.

MR. WILLEY: Please accept this small present from a friend of abolition.

Now if these candles should burn bright,
Think on what they shed their light;
And when we raise our flax and tow,
We pay the laborer you know.

JOANNA.

MR. WILLEY:

Please accept this meat I send,
Because I am the poor slave's friend;
And when I grow to be a man,
I mean to help them all I can.

NATHANIEL.

The tendency in the Baptist and Methodist denominations was now unfavorable. In both a separation of North and South had essentially taken place, and the effort now was to pacify against all agitation on this subject. There could be harmony and fellowship

all around by dropping the troublesome issue, and let all sections do as they pleased. The Congregational denomination was rocking with the questions involved in its American Board, and all possible devices were invented to protect slavery and the Board from the charge of sin. One was that there are "conceivable circumstances" in which it was not sin, and so destroy the rule. Another favorite delusion of the great Deceiver was, that it was an "organic sin," which individuals could practice without sin! The most eminent D.D.'s dared to preach and defend this, and defend the Board for holding relations of fellowship with slavery. But the ablest men opposed all this. Rev. A. Barnes said that in this and other ways the Church was "the pillar on which slavery rested," and without it "slavery would not stand one hour." Dr. Thomas Dick of Scotland ably remonstrated with the churches and ministers in this country against "the futility and worthlessness of those flimsy excuses which have been brought in support of slavery. They can debar from Christian fellowship all vindicators and supporters of slavery. They can use all their political power against slavery instead of for it. Do this, and the slave system would soon be rent to its foundations. But, in presence of their dying country, and three millions pleading, these professed teachers of the religion of Jesus Christ had the blind obduracy to say to the country that slave-holding was not essentially sinful, and should not be held subject to discipline in the church of Christ! Slave-holders asked nothing more. And the future shows the results of calling "evil good," and putting "darkness for light."





John P. Hale.

HON JOHN P HALE

SENATOR FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE



The votes will then be right." He thus closed an eloquent reply to Pierce's attacks in debate: "The measure of my ambition will be full, if when my bones are laid beneath the soil of New Hampshire, and my wife and children repair to my grave to drop a tear to my memory, they may read on my tombstone: 'He who lies here surrendered office and place and power, rather than bow down and worship slavery.'" No son of New Hampshire ever more honored his state, nor the state more honored itself, than in sending this Leonidas right into the center of our national life, to hold there the betrayed flag of Liberty. The friends of Liberty all over the land were encouraged. If this could be done in New Hampshire, why not elsewhere? Were there no more John P. Hales in the land? Some were already appearing.

The government of Mexico was preparing for war to the utmost of its power. Texas had been seized by robbery and theft, and that government declared itself bound in honor to resent and resist it. And our government was preparing for war, and sending naval and military forces on to the Gulf coast and western Texas. War was inevitable, and was expected and desired by slave-holding conspirators. Texas alone was far short of their design. They meant to get possession, west if not south, of the whole interior and western coast of the continent, stock it with slaves, and hurry it into the Union as states, as fast as possible. This would enable them to hold control at least of the Senate, against the rising hostility of the North. And war with a weak power would enable them to acquire these immense regions without danger, and with more decency than in the case of Texas.

Slavery had always been treated as a national interest in the administration of the government, and in violation of the constitution; but now its nationality had become too notorious to be questioned, and to this, the servile North bowed in submission for *party!* Florida now asked admission as a state, and was yoked with the free state of Iowa. Its population was inadequate, and its constitution was confessedly in violation of the United States Constitution in reference to the exclusion of free colored citizens. Mr. Morse, of Maine, in the House, and Mr. Evans, of Maine, in the Senate, endeavored to have those cruel, unjust provisions struck out, but without success. So the slave power triumphed in every demand, and its arrogance grew with its growth. A young woman from Vermont was arrested in Kentucky on a charge of aiding a fugitive, and sent to prison; but efforts secured her pardon. Captain Jonathan Walker, of Massachusetts, while sailing from Florida to Nassau with a number of colored passengers, was seized by a naval craft whose chief business was hunting slaves. He was taken back, tried, and sentenced "to be branded with the letters S. S. (slave stealer), in his right hand, sit in the pillory one hour, be imprisoned fifteen days, and pay a fine of one hundred and fifty dollars." The owners of the slaves also assailed him for one hundred thousand dollars civil damages. Such was our degradation. Humanity was crime, and he that "reproved made himself a prey." It was stated that "between fifty and sixty free colored persons were kidnapped in the lower part of Delaware, in six months and sold off to the slave-dealers."

At this time a colored man was arrested in Columbus, Ohio, on demand of the governor of Kentucky. As admitted, he had been allowed by his owner to go to Cincinnati to work, which made him legally free. He did not return from Ohio but had been a citizen in Columbus twelve years; had a wife and family and considerable property. But the judge sustained the claim, and he was forced away from wife, children, and home into hopeless slavery. Another illustration of what abolitionists were so earnestly opposing and the rest of the North were protecting. A beautiful slave girl in New Orleans was the favorite mistress of her master, and this led to war between her and her master's wife. When he was gone she returned some of the confinements and whipping she had received, probably having confidence in him. For this she was tried and condemned to be hung. But the execution was delayed nearly a year for the birth and early nursing of her child; then she was torn from it and hung. Such was slavery.

CHAPTER XXII.

NATIONAL ANTISLAVERY SOCIETY. MAINE LEGISLATURE. PROHIBITORY LAW. STATE TEMPERANCE MEETING. NEW ENERGY FOR LIBERTY. JULY 4, AT SEBEC. MEXICO INVADED. WAR. SUPPORTED BY CONGRESS. SETTLED. VAST ROBBERY AND MURDER. MR. GIDDINGS IN MAINE. STATE ELECTIONS OF 1846. STATE ANNIVERSARIES OF 1847. GOVERNOR NOMINATED. GREAT OCCASION. STRUGGLE IN CONGRESS. NATIONAL ERA. ELECTIONS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE. RELIGION AND SLAVERY.

THE American and Foreign Antislavery Society held its Annual Meeting in New York, in May, Arthur Tappan, President. It declared that "the progress of abolition in this country calls for devout gratitude to the God of the oppressed, and inspires us with fresh zeal and determination to carry it on till liberty is proclaimed throughout the land." "Seventeen years ago it had one paper, now it has fifty-two." It maintained the exclusion of slavery from the church of God, and the Evangelical Alliance of England had sustained that position. Alvan Stewart made a great speech. An immense meeting was held in Faneuil Hall in May, in commemoration of the life and death of Mr. Torrey. General Fessenden was President.

Over thirty thousand petitions were sent to the legislature of Maine for a prohibitory law, but only got the license law tightened. The Liberty party had five members in the House. The Maine Temperance Union in the State House was regarded as the richest ever held in the state. Addresses were made by

General Appleton, Neal Dow, and Dr. Jewett, of Massachusetts. The cause was making vigorous progress among the people. It had one supreme object — *positive prohibition*, and no modification of license law was allowed to divert it. This was its strength, and finally gave it success. Its weakness was in relying on petitions without ballots.

The cause of freedom in the state that summer was prosecuted with unusual energy. The membership fee of the state association was bringing unexpected revenue, and Rev. A. Redlon was appointed to an agency in York County. A monthly publication was issued called the "Flag of Liberty," to which was transferred the great speeches of John P. Hale and others, able articles and documents for the people. This received a large distribution; and the circulation of our paper increased. The committee of the state association called on the people in every town to look after Fourth of July celebrations, and have as many as possible with a speech or oration, with music. The day belonged to liberty, and when we got that we should get the people. Such meetings were held in large numbers with best results. Rev. G. W. Fargo was appointed an agent. All these agents and others found the people anxious to hear the truth and adopt it as never before.

Mr. Davis, giving account of his meetings in Oxford County, spoke of Winslow Hall, Esquire, of Hartford, who had then moved to Aroostook. He was an intelligent, upright, true man. As soon as the cause of the slaves reached his ear it reached his heart, and he stood by them till his death. He

was on the first Liberty ticket for Senator, and his town cast the largest vote for Liberty in 1840 of any town in the state. Mr. Davis said "he left the strong marks of his footsteps here, and his mantle has fallen on those who will honor it. The Liberty party is not the 'third' but the second here, and will soon be the first."

I managed to take the field two weeks with Lewis Clark. The fourth of July we were at Sebec. A most delightful grove spread its foliage, and the gentle breeze fanned the convention of six hundred far back among a sparse population. A large wagon from Milo, well filled, came on with a flag twenty feet high. The old spirit of the day was there! The picnic dinner by the ladies, on a table one hundred feet long, all agreed had not been equalled in Maine. After that came a fine glee by singers from Foxcroft. It was a time easy to remember. We then visited Monson, Foxcroft, Dover, Brownville, Milo, Atkinson, and Garland, where the Freewill Baptist Quarterly Meeting invited us to occupy one forenoon. In eight days we held eighteen meetings, which were well attended, the farmers leaving their work by hundreds.

The immeasurable guilt and infamy of our country is to be revealed again in the Mexican war. The United States army and navy had been sent to the protection of Texas, and General Taylor was on its western border, awaiting, probably, an attack from Mexico. That government had repeatedly notified our own, that taking Texas was taking the war in which it was a party. But specious forms of negotiation were carried on as though it was desired to avoid

war, and waiting for Mexico to strike the first blow. But it was withheld and the fear entertained that war would be avoided if only Texas was demanded. This would defeat to a large extent the whole object, which was, the conquest of unlimited territory for slavery. But Polk and his desperadoes were equal to the emergency, and without any authority from Congress he ordered General Taylor to march nearly a hundred miles west to the Rio Grande, the whole of it unquestioned Mexican territory. There that nation must resist or surrender its existence, to the contempt of mankind.

General Taylor was attacked, a bloody battle was fought, and the Mexicans defeated. The President hastens to announce to Congress and the world, that "War exists by act of Mexico"! and calls for the means to carry it on. Was it the President of this nation? or was it the "Father of Lies" himself? The country began dimly to perceive what its masters were about; but now it was war, and both parties adopted the motto, "Our country, right or wrong." Congress gave it full support. Efforts were made in both Houses to pass a law that all territory acquired should be free, but they were defeated. No invasion of barbarians was ever more unjust and infamous, but it was not below our moral level. The war was continued, re-enforcements hurried on, and battles fought. Mexico was not able long to resist, but won the honor of mankind by its patriotism in blood.

Congress met in December, 1846, and the message reiterated the gigantic, brazen falsehood that Mexico began the war, and that "American blood had been

spilled on American soil!" It called on Congress for three million dollars for "negotiation," and a bill for it was introduced in the House. This was met with renewed efforts in favor of an amendment providing that slavery should be forever excluded in all territory acquired by it. Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, offered again his proviso for that object, also Preston King, of New York, urged a similar amendment. Mr. Hamlin, of Maine, offered another, and it passed the House, one hundred and fifteen to one hundred and six. Northern Democrats extensively supported this position, struggling like bears in a trap. But the Senate was perfectly subject to the slave power, where all measures for freedom of territory obtained were defeated.

The territory demanded as the condition of peace was all New Mexico, Upper and Lower California, and all the region between Texas and the Rio Grande, and the right to cross the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. But this monstrous demand was refused, war was renewed, our army moved on the capital of the invaded country, and it fell. A treaty of peace was then negotiated, by which all Upper California, all New Mexico, and the country east of the Rio Grande, were ceded to the United States, and fifteen million dollars paid to Mexico. The slave-holders cared little how much money was paid, for it would come principally from the North, while they got the land. Mexico most earnestly pled for conditions in the treaty that the vast country which it had made free should not be again given up to slavery. As well have pled with hyenas for mercy. Slavery was the whole object.

The extent of territory obtained was equal to our whole country at its origin, and at a cost of over one hundred and thirty million dollars to the government, beside the heavy sacrifice of life. It was a gigantic system of robbery and murder in support of the "sum of all villainies," whose control of the nation is now held as assured. But where rests the ultimate guilt? *In the individual voter!* There rests the sovereignty of republican government, and there the accountability. Only the Almighty, with his "reserve," left a ray of hope.

The old school Presbyterians held their previous position, that "slave-holding cannot be regarded as a heinous sin without charging the apostles with conniving at it, and should be no bar to Christian communion." The new school declared, after long debate, "slave-holding to be a violation of the law of God and precepts of the gospel," but "should not be a bar to the table of the Lord, nor to Christian fellowship." This, they called "conservative"! The Methodist Conference resolved that slavery was "a most flagrant outrage against the rights of man and law of God, and should be held as *prima facie* evidence of the guilt of a slave-holder in the church"; and that they "cannot allow it to remain in the bosom of the church without our earnest protest."

The Congregational State Conference, in reply to an appeal from Massachusetts, declared "slave-holding to be entirely contrary to the Word of God," and "all Christians should free themselves and the church from its pollution." It is noticeable that religious bodies were silent on the horrible work the nation was carry-

ing on in behalf of slavery, notwithstanding the responsibility of their own members as citizens. Was God indifferent to that pagan war? Was his law not "broad" enough to reach it? Were they, "the light of the world," in political "bondage to the world"?

Hon. J. R. Giddings made a visit to Maine in August of this year, perhaps invited by our Whig representative. His object was to see if some combinations could not be effected after the example of New Hampshire. He had been a firm Whig, but had given up the hope of saving the country by that party. He said it was not an antislavery party; that it must place the principle, "slavery not national," as its supreme position, in its platforms, its presses, speeches, conventions, in town, state and nation, before it should be entrusted with the cause. It then, as ever, stood on the ground, "slavery is national." After listening to him we replied that we had our principles, and should only go where they went, and should most gladly enter into any new combinations for their success. He said he "could ask nothing more." But we said, "What are you going to do with your leaders?" Pausing, he replied, "We must cast them overboard!" "Very well," was the reply; "when that is done the way will be open." The long conversation at our office was highly prized.

He made a speech at Augusta, showing the outrages of slavery on the Constitution; and after he had stated the work to be done, he said, "Liberty men, *will you do it?*" The loud response was, "*Yes.*" "Whigs, *will you do it?*" All silent. "What is the question?" "Will you go for Liberty

and Humanity?" A feeble yes. "Democrats, *will you go for it?*" A few — yes. He then rung out the question, "Who is to be the John P. Hale of Maine?" He soon abandoned the Whig party as worthless for the country's necessities.

Conventions were held in all the counties for nominations, action, and inspiration; and the campaign was one of unequalled energy and success. John P. Hale was invited, and spent some time, chiefly in the eastern part of the state, with remarkable power. The result was an increase of about three thousand to the Liberty vote of the state for governor, giving us about ten thousand legal voters in Maine who would "stand up and be counted" for the liberties of their country and its outraged victims. The Democratic party, chained to the infamous Polk administration, and loaded with the enormous guilt and burden of the Mexican war, was defeated, and no governor was elected. The Liberty party held the balance in the state election, and lacked but eleven of holding it in the House where it had nine members at the meeting of the legislature. Many had been defeated for the House, and seventeen vacancies were reported in the Senate. The Democrat, John W. Dana, was elected governor.

This grand advance to power in the state not only inspired the confidence of antislavery men and women in early success, but nearly ended the efforts of the other parties to break down the Liberty party. No sophistry, denunciation, falsehood, slander; no delusions, — "you can't elect," "throwing away votes," "electing the worst man," etc., — had beguiled and

cheated the determined friends of right, seeing as they did that in their fidelity rested the nation's destiny. The party was built on the commands of God to each voter, to vote for "justice and judgment," and to "let the oppressed go free," and for such men as he had described to do that, leaving all else with him.

Thus began the year 1847. The state anniversaries began in Augusta, January 12. The Liberty Convention and the Maine Liberty Association continued. W. A. Crocker, of Machias, was elected President. General Fessenden was unanimously nominated as candidate for governor by nearly two hundred votes. It was the largest and ablest of our anniversaries, and most animating. The progress of the cause among the people in all parts of the state was obvious, for nearly every county was well represented. Professor Smyth, of Bowdoin, was present and spoke of his early editorial and other labors, was one of the first in favor of a new political party, cast the only vote for it in Brunswick, in 1840, and had not "gone back." His warm heart and eloquence were applauded. Each session for two days was opened with devout prayer.

The First Annual Report of the Maine Liberty Association said our doctrines of civil and religious liberty were identical with those of our pilgrim and revolutionary ancestors, and congratulated the association on the wisdom and success of its organization. It had received a united and vigorous support in all parts of the state. The treasurer reported seven hundred and eight one dollar memberships, and total receipts, nine hundred and fourteen dollars and fifty-six cents. W. Davis had labored the whole year;

Otis Richardson, eight months; Rev. G. W. Fargo, two months; Elder Ridlon, five months; A. F. Holt, six weeks; all faithfully, successfully, in sun and storm, and with little pay. Lewis Clark and Lunsford Lane, two colored men, had done great service to the cause. Maine must do its own work, and these agencies among the people in the country were the key of success. The committee had put in circulation a thousand copies of the address of the great Cincinnati Conventions. The sum of three thousand dollars was demanded for the next year, and resolutely indorsed.'

Encouragements were never equalled. Maine had added over three thousand to its voting army, and the national vote for liberty had been raised twenty thousand, and now was over eighty thousand. More than fifty antislavery papers supported the grand conflict, one in Washington, one in Kentucky, one in Maryland. The Christianity of Great Britain had come to the support of the American abolitionists, that slaveholding must be expelled from the Christian church; and that would be done, however a titled ministry might resist it. And more than all, God was with us; and though the wheels of his Providence may seem to move slowly, "he is not slack concerning his promises." The cry of the eighty thousand new-born infants, cast out from humanity the last year, are heard.

The resolutions asserted that the reason for supporting the Liberty party was, because, "the cardinal principles of government established by our fathers can be found nowhere else; that as the other parties can do nothing to remove slavery, or withhold support from slave-holders, the true motto is, 'No vot-

ing for slave-holders, or those in political fellowship with them'"; that the American people should unite in a most earnest protest against the outrageous war of conquest for slavery. They eulogize New Hampshire, lament the death of Thomas Clarkson and of the Martyr Torrey, hail the establishment of a Liberty paper at Washington, and name General Fessenden as candidate for President in 1848. Some seven hundred were crowded into the hall, and request was made for the Congregational church, but it was refused. Determination, energy, and harmony were characteristics.

The Religious Convention followed, in the Second Baptist church, and for numbers, weight of character, talents, piety, and unanimity, it had not been equalled. About five hundred were present during the day and a half. All denominations were fraternally represented. Hon. D. Farnsworth was chairman, and D. B. Randall and F. Merriman, secretaries; Professor Smyth, C. C. Cone, S. Whitney, O. B. Walker, S. Field, J. W. Sawyer, G. W. Hathaway, J. T. Hawes, committee. There was free speech in conventions in those times. They were not, as now, all framed out in advance, a select few, only, being allowed to speak. An address from British Christians was read, and a committee appointed to gratefully answer it. It nobly defended the position of abolitionists that slave-holders must be excluded from Christian fellowship, reproved the pro-slavery ministry, and cheered on the friends of liberty. A petition was adopted, signed officially, and sent to Congress for "the immediate cessation of hostilities against Mexico."

The resolutions declared that the gospel has power to abolish all sin, including slavery, when faithfully taught and practiced, and that the Christian pulpit was therefore bound so to teach and enforce the word of God against slavery as to ensure its abolition; that the slaves had a right from God to the Bible, and Bible societies were bound to give it to them; that "slave-holding is an individual crime, which the Christian church should not tolerate in either heathen or Christian lands"; that it is affectionately and earnestly recommended that each denomination in the state hold a mass convention this year for the consideration of these subjects. Professor Smyth, Brothers Weaver, Shaw, and French, were chosen to call another convention.

These topics indicate the subject of discussion, to bring religion into practical application against slavery. It was insisted by Mr. Willey that "if the Bible is the remedy for slavery, which was not doubted, it must be an antislavery book, directly, openly, powerfully. And Christian character must be the same or it is false to its model. The church must be an antislavery church, or it is not the 'ground of the truth.' The pulpit must be boldly, unequivocally antislavery, or it is false to its vows. And all our religious institutions must be the same, or they are so far unchristian. Alas, how poorly apprehended is the true character of the Bible." Professor Smyth powerfully insisted that "there is power enough in the gospel to break every yoke, but it must be applied; it must be preached at whatever cost. There is no evading this." Mr. G. F. Talbot said: "In my opinion, the greatest prop on

which the foul system of slavery has rested, has been a spurious popular religion. Let it become a settled principle that slave-holding is inherently vile and sinful, and this principle carried out in all the relations of life, and slavery would not exist a single year. Now, horse-stealing is an infamous crime, but man-stealing is excusable if not honorable." Mr. Davis said he "could not see how a man could intelligently vote for slave-holders and those in alliance with them, and not stand with them in the final account." Rev. Mr. Judd said "there was more antislavery matter in the Investigator [infidel] each week than in a dozen religious papers he could name."

Rev. D. Thurston said "the reason for this apathy was the want of correct views of the holy law of God. He was glad to see younger men coming to the front." Mr. Willey said the question was asked how we should reach the South with our truths. The answer is, by acting on them ourselves. It is mainly the *action* of the North that affects the South. "Wisdom must be justified of her children." Rev. Mr. Hawes said: "How few of all the ministers in this state feel any interest in applying the gospel to the cause of freedom! If we go home imbued with the spirit here, a storm will come down on our heads. I have tried it. But I am willing to be sacrificed for this cause." Rev. Mr. Hathaway said: "The Christian religion consists in the supremacy of God, and the equality of men. Deny these and you justify all the sin on earth and in hell. And supporting slavery is doing this." Mr. Farrar said: "Let us never doubt of success. He who strikes, fearing he shall not prevail, will not

strike more than half a blow. If faithful to our trust, every attribute of God is pledged to our support." After urging a faithful observance of the monthly anti-slavery concert of prayer, the benediction closed the occasion. "O, it was good to be there," was the general remark. Mr. Waters and Mr. Messer furnished inspiring music for both meetings. That anniversary week was felt throughout the state.

County meetings were soon called all over the state, beside others in towns. Activity prevailed. Special effort was at once made to raise the three thousand dollars, which was divided among the counties, and with good prospects. Agencies were kept in the field, and new ones added. Mr. Farrar was a cultivated, excellent young man, a fine speaker, recently enlisted. Mr. Vinton also went into the great work before the people, usefully. By much effort I also spent weeks in the field. The people were slowly learning the deceptions, delusions, frauds, sophistries, and inventions to hold them in alliance with slavery for the sake of party. And the atrocious war now upon the country, butchering an unoffending neighbor to rob him of his possessions, did much to open their eyes to what ballots had done. In one battle just fought six thousand lives had been destroyed, two thousand of them our own citizens! The leading capital of the Whigs now was accusing Democrats and Liberty men of bringing this war upon the country; and of the Democrats, in trying to make the people believe it was not for slavery. And to cover his infamy by a hurrah for the President, a plan was adopted for Polk to make a tour to the North, which he did. Quite

a display was got up for him in Augusta in July. But both parties rushed equally to the support of the war, voting the millions of money demanded, and pressing men into the service where thousands died of disease as well as in battle. This was called "patriotism" instead of brigandism. Patriotism was all with the Liberty party, which demanded an immediate withdrawal of our army.

The struggle in Congress was severe to have slavery forever prohibited in all territory acquired by the war. All representatives from Maine now voted for it, but the slave-masters triumphed. The people did n't put it in their ballots, and all their petitions and legislative protests were powerless. Calhoun admitted that "there would have been no war, had not the army been sent to the Rio Grande." It was sent there for that object, yet the very man who gave the order declared that "the war existed by the act of Mexico," and his party repeated it! One such President has been elected by the people of the United States. History must record the shame. Up to January, 1847, the free states had furnished twenty-one hundred and sixty-two men, the slave states four hundred and eleven, for the war.

Early this year Dr. Bailey, editor of the Philanthropist, of Cincinnati, transferred his paper to Washington, with the name "National Era." He was a sound, intelligent, able editor, and was well trained by mobs and persecution. It soon received a good circulation, and did the cause great service. The slave-holders were excited by this invasion of their territory, but suppressed their malice for awhile.

At the spring elections in New Hampshire, the Texas Democrats recovered a slight majority. But the Liberty vote was eighty-five hundred and sixty, about fifty Liberty representatives were elected out of two hundred and eighty-five, and Mr. Tuck, Liberty candidate, was elected to Congress — Whigs uniting. The party prosecuted its work with new energy. In Maine, the winter's work was well done. Never had meetings been so large, so interesting, nor the people generally so candid and desirous of information. The circulation of the Standard received an unusual increase and the monthly "Flag of Freedom" was patronized. About fifteen thousand copies had been circulated the last year. Our home was cheered by a large visit of friends, whose songs and greetings, with two hundred dollars, bound us to every possible effort in the great revolution.

Nor were the faithful silent in the religious department. Baptist ministers in Maine issued a "solemn *protest against slavery*" as a sin against God and violation of all the rights of man, and depriving three millions in this land of the gospel. They "earnestly entreat all who are implicated in this sin, especially all ministers, to pray, and take speedy measures for its extinction, and thus save our country from ruin." This was signed by one hundred and fifty-two ministers and sent over the country, North and South.

July, 1847, the Freewill Baptist ministers issued a "Protest and Declaration" on slavery. After a terrible indictment of it as against religion, morality, humanity, and justice, its corruption of church and state, they say: "We wish to wash our hands from

the guilt of this iniquity, and therefore refuse to support slavery or its advocates by withholding Christian and church fellowship from all guilty of the sin, by giving neither our suffrages or religious influence in its support, and remembering the slaves as bound with them. Trusting in Almighty grace, we pledge in support of these principles our earnest prayers, our combined influences, and our most vigorous efforts." This was signed by six hundred and nineteen ministers. A more manly, Christian position had never been taken before the country, and its vows were carried out. Had all religious denominations at the North held this attitude, slavery would have fallen "like lightning from heaven."

Although a strong appeal on slavery was presented to the Congregational State Conference from the churches in Hallowell and Union, it was disregarded until near the close, when the subject was referred to a committee to report next year! But the position held by the American Board on slavery was agitating that denomination deeply. It was a subject of able discussion in the Standard during the year. The Board denounced the "system of slavery" in the strongest terms; then it joined its defenders, North and South, in holding individual slave-holding as not sin, and no ground of disfellowship in the church. On this ground it permitted slavery in its Indian mission churches. Because a possible case might occur where a person owning a slave might not be able at once to terminate the legal relation, therefore the exception was made the rule, the essential sinfulness of slave-holding was denied, slave-holders were

held in fraternal Christian relationship in its own organism, and in its missions. The "*system*" was all of the Devil; but individual participation in it was all right enough! It was "organic sin," which did not implicate participants. Such was the absurd infidel theology of the times, supported by the great body of titled ministry. It denied the first premise of the antislavery cause that slave-holding is sin, paralyzed Northern conscience and hardened the Southern heart. The politicians made the most of it, and infidelity gloried in its asserted superiority to such a religion. The attachment of the denomination to that Board was strong, but withdrawal of support was steadily increasing and turning to other societies. Several Union societies existed, but the year before this they were combined into the American Missionary Association, which has done and is still doing a noble work for Christianity. It was this treacherous attitude of the prevalent religion of the North, which left the freedom of the oppressed to the cannon as its last appeal.

CHAPTER XXIII.

DEATH OF DEACON DOLE. NEW YORK ANNIVERSARIES. FOURTH OF JULY. WORK. STATE ELECTIONS. NATIONAL CONVENTION. HALE AND KING NOMINATED. MR. HALE IN THE SENATE. MAINE IN THE HOUSE. LIBERTY IN OREGON. FRANCE. ANOTHER CONFLICT. THE "PEARL." FUGITIVES RECAPTURED. MOBS IN WASHINGTON. FIERCE DEBATE. HEROIC DEFENCE OF LIBERTY. SLAVE-TRADE IN THE DISTRICT.

ON the ninth of June, 1847, the poor slaves lost their faithful friend in the death of Deacon Ebenezer Dole, of Hallowell, aged seventy-one. He was one of the highest examples of true Christian character we have ever seen. He lived for others, especially the poor; and when the first cry of the slaves reached his ear, his great heart responded promptly, warmly, unfalteringly, to his last breath, in their behalf. He had a considerable property as a merchant, and it is doubtful if any other man in the state gave so much as he did to the cause. He was one of its pillars. An interesting incident we are pleased to receive from his daughter, who had preserved this letter in memory of her father, to whom it was addressed:

ST. MARK, FLORIDA, November 18, 1835.

SIR,—In August last my wife wrote me from Augusta, Maine, that while on a visit to Hallowell, her servant, a negro girl, whom she took with her to take care of the children, was stolen. Since her return she states that in searching for the girl you acknowledged to some of her friends your participation in the theft. Now, sir, I have only one word to say (at present) on the subject, that is, to return my property to me without delay or expense, or I pledge you my word it shall cost you three times the value of the girl, besides I will advertise you and



Ebenr Dole





your confederates in this nefarious transaction, in every state in the Union, and offer such a reward as will give me the pleasure of seeing you here where I could get more for exhibiting you a month than you have made all your life-time. I will defer further remarks until a reasonable time for your answer, hoping to spare your family the degradation that your conduct has merited, and your obstinacy will certainly bring upon them. AMBROSE CRANE.

Slaves coming into a free state with consent of their owner were legally free, but they were often brought North in the summer with safety. He was just the man to save that helpless girl, but others did it. Here was a "sample" slave-holder. When we stood by the dying bed of that holy man, the voice was almost audible — "Come! I was in prison, a stranger, and you took me in, *Come!*" He heard it.

In May, we attended the New York anniversaries, the better to "understand these times," and spent a little time in the meeting of the old American Society. Wendell Phillips made a brilliant speech, representing the views of his and Mr. Garrison's class. It was maintained that the Constitution was the pillar of slavery, (mistaking its perversions for its true principles,) and must be destroyed. Indeed that declining party was for anarchy in both church and state, as their only remedy for slavery. The meeting of the American and Foreign Antislavery Society was the largest and ablest for many years. Mr. Leavitt made a great speech in support of the measure in progress for giving the Bible to the slaves. An eloquent colored man, Rev. S. R. Ward, maintained that the real issue of the country was on the "adoption of the Declaration of Independence." Dr. Bushnell, of Connecticut, preached a powerful sermon before the Home

Missionary Society, in which he boldly declared that "slavery must be got rid of — must be abolished." The Protestant Evangelical Alliance, which had been organized latterly, debated in its meeting four days the question, what to do with slavery. The English branch demanded its repudiation from the Christian church, but the South and its defenders would not stand that. The screen of "organic sin," — the *system* all sin, its parts right, — was tried without success, and the D. D.'s failing to invent a sieve to separate good and bad slave-holders, the Alliance was essentially destroyed. On the whole, we were cheered with the evidence that the great cause had reached a hold on the public mind beyond our anticipation. Persistence would conquer. Liberty men were united and firm against all compromise with other parties, and fast increasing their strength in all free states. The Whigs were turning to General Taylor as their candidate for 1848, hoping to get capital enough out of his success in Mexican butchery to elect him. Direct hostility by political parties to the Liberty party was now exchanged for baiting for its support, but with no success.

The fourth of July was used more extensively this year than ever before in the cause of liberty. In all parts of the state conventions and meetings of various kinds were in groves and churches, with speeches and music, the women preparing the picnic. Great service was done back among the people where our chief work was done. Conventions were held for nominations, and complete Liberty tickets were made for all offices. Entire separation from the decaying parties in inseparable alliance with slavery was rigidly

adhered to. The legislature passed some resolutions against the extension of slavery into any free territory, and called on the delegation in Congress to maintain this position.

The state elections of September 13 resulted in the re-election of Governor Dana, the Democratic candidate, by a small majority. The day was unfortunate. One of the heaviest rain storms known on the coast poured down in torrents all day, and roads were nearly impassable. The whole vote was very small. The vote for Fessenden and Liberty was counted seven thousand, three hundred and fifty-two; but the confident belief was that the cause had at least three thousand more in the state, which the future would bring out.

A National Liberty Convention was held in Buffalo, October 20, 1847, to nominate candidates for President and Vice-president. John P. Hale now stood more conspicuously before the country than any other man, as political representative of the cause, and his conduct and ability had won the confidence and admiration of every friend of Liberty in the land. Nearly all eyes were turned on him as the man. But his views and purposes had not yet been called out on all the principles and objects of the party; and to learn directly from him where he stood, a private interview was held in Boston before the convention, by persons from a few states, and he frankly told us his views. He preferred not to be nominated as it might embarrass him in the Senate, but his principles and objects were those of the Liberty party, and we so assured the convention.

A policy had been growing among antislavery men in the state of New York where the Liberty party originated, which was not approved generally by the party. Its prominent feature was to embrace not only the abolition of slavery in its creed but also all other subjects of government. Gerrit Smith and Beriah Green supported this position, and a state convention in June of that year was held, a Liberty league organized, and Gerrit Smith and Elihu Burritt were made presidential candidates. This party presented its platform and candidates to the convention, and the subject was ably discussed ; but a large majority was found against it, including such men as Chase, Leavitt, Fessenden, Whittier, Lewis, Dr. Bailey, A. Stewart, and others. It was insisted that we must not divert attention from the great, supreme issue with slavery, nor introduce divisive subjects, now that the best thought of the country was inclining to our position, and thousands were approaching us from other parties who would unite against slavery, but disagreed on other questions. Nothing should be placed in the way of a single ballot for the life of our country and its pleading victims. Other things could wait. One supreme thing at a time.

This prevailed almost unanimously except with a class of men in that state, and John P. Hale was nominated for President, and Judge Leicester King, of Ohio, for Vice-president, with great interest and inspired anticipations. That dissenting element held out, but disappeared before subsequent events. The convention was large, able, Christian, and full of hope. Its action sent a new inspiration all through our

ranks, and met a response from society such as had not been seen.

At the meeting of Congress in December, 1847, John P. Hale took his seat in the Senate. The slave power had lost control of the House on the great current issue of the extension of slavery into territory acquired by the war, but the Senate was perfectly at its control, their fortress of strength. But now a bold member enters with the flag of Liberty. He was placed on committees as a Whig, but he promptly declined the appointments and refused all such classification. The claims of the war for men and money soon opened the question of slavery, when he fearlessly declared "that the origin of the war lies in the avowed object of the government to perpetuate slavery. And with my consent, the first dollar shall not go from the treasury until the President informs us how much will be required to bring the army home by the cheapest route." Such speech as this startled that body, but what to do about it was not so clear. He afterward exposed the whole plot with its frauds, falsehoods, deceptions, its barbarisms and guilt, with such convincing power as to rouse the tyrants to fury and open the eyes of the people. His speeches were printed by hundreds of thousands.

Many petitions were presented for the repeal of the law of Congress, authorizing slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, the most savage and infamous human flesh market to be found on earth; but they were doomed to "lie on the table," seventy-six to seventy! Where did Maine stand on this question, with all its pulpits, churches, communion tables,

religious presses, and institutions of Christianity and civilization? History must answer: Tabled, Yes — Fairfield, Bradbury, Clapp, Clark, Hammonds, Wiley, Williams. No — Belcher, Smart. The shame was not theirs alone. *Voters did it*, and must answer for it "when the books are opened."

A desperate struggle occurred in Congress with the slave power on the prohibition of slavery in Oregon. That region on the Pacific was claimed by the United States both by right of discovery, and by treaty with Spain, but the boundary line between that and the British possessions north was not settled. The settlers of Oregon had framed a government which excluded slavery, and efforts began as early as 1844, in Congress, to establish there a territorial government, but carefully leaving the door open for slavery. But now the question must be met. The slave-holders resisted all exclusion of slavery, not because the territory so far north would ever be of much benefit to it, but for the principle involved. They had now become strong and arrogant enough to openly advance in their positions and demands. Slavery had already been nationalized beyond all denial, and that fort they would hold, or abandon the Union. Calhoun maintained that a citizen of a slave state had a right to take his slaves into any territory and hold them there; that neither Congress nor the territory had any right to prevent it, and that "the doctrine that 'all men are born free and equal,' had not a word of truth in it.' (The anti-Chinese law says the same.) Others sustained the same principles.

The government must hold the right of property in

men like any other right of property, and protect it. It was moved to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific; also to include Oregon under the Ordinance of 1787, forbidding slavery, but these were defeated in the Senate because they implied the prohibitory power of the government. Various other inventions were tried but failed. Mr. Hale took a bold part in the long debate. He said: "I am willing to place myself upon the great principle of human rights, stand where the word of God places me, and bid defiance to all consequences." Mr. Hamlin, of Maine, took a prominent and firm stand on this great, vital question, and ably maintained the exclusion of slavery from Oregon.

Many northern Democrats did the same, against their own administration. The House was strong for the exclusion of slavery, but every measure was defeated in the Senate until at last the more conservative Southern men became alarmed at the extreme position of Calhoun and others, especially when so boldly and defiantly avowed. After the final contest had continued through the night and until nine o'clock Sunday morning, the bill for a territorial government with a clause prohibiting slavery, passed the Senate by four majority. President Polk signed it, but only, he said, "because the territory was far to the north of the Compromise line."

This desperate conflict had a powerful influence on the country. Slavery had, all down our history, been usurping the powers of the national government in its behalf, but it had been tolerated for party success, information chiefly being kept from the people, and

covered with the delusions of "Compromises of the Constitution." The nation was sacrificed on the altar of party, as it still is. But the Liberty party had raised the flag — "*The National Government a Government of Liberty*," and discerning Southerners saw in its character and the support it was receiving, that this would ultimately carry the North, and that would be the death of slavery. It could not live under a general government of liberty, and its final arraignment was coming. They must retain the national power, or secede from it. "This," said Mr. Underwood, a Kentucky Whig, "is the only course left us whereby to escape the chain which Northern fanaticism is forging for us." This shows the broad perception, sound judgment, and necessity of the Liberty party. No other party would or could arraign slavery for trial on a fatal issue, and where it had no defence. This saved the nation.

The slave power was loud in its demand, "Let us alone," as the Devil always is if disturbed when having all he wants; and its charge of disturbing the peace of the country was faithfully reiterated over the country against the true defenders of liberty. There is no peace to the wicked, especially when good men do their duty. Scarcely had the late storm subsided in Congress when another tempest burst forth. The revolution in France from monarchy to republicanism was officially announced by that government to the United States, and the President sent a message to Congress communicating the intelligence, and expressing great joy. Resolutions were introduced of congratulation at this triumph of liberty. Enthusiastic

and eloquent speeches followed, and by none more earnest and inspired than slave-holders. Liberty was rising the world over, "and down-trodden humanity is breaking down all forms of tyranny"!

But the new French government also declared its purpose to immediately abolish slavery wherever it existed under that government, and Mr. Ashman, of Massachusetts, and Mr. Schenck, of Ohio, offered amendments of special congratulation at this announcement. This brought up the old theme again, which was declared impertinent, and they were "sick and tired of it." But a few bold men defended their position. Said Mr. Giddings, "Look out of that window upon that slave-pen. Will not France look with disgust on such hypocrisy? a nation of slave-dealers tendering their sympathy to a free people!" Mr. Hale, alone in the Senate, spoke nobly. Should Liberty by our treachery here be lost, hope cheered him that "in the Old World light would be seen rising out of darkness, life out of death, and hope out of despair." A great city celebration was got up, with torch-light processions, illuminations, speeches, and shoutings for liberty!

Just then a small vessel came up the Potomac with a cargo of wood, which it delivered, and took on board to return seventy-seven fugitive slaves. An armed steamer soon pursued the Pearl, overtook her at the mouth of the river, took her back, and at the wharf met a mob of thousands, but all were lodged in the city prison. The weeping slaves were all delivered to the slave-dealers, doomed to the southern market, which was more dreaded than death. They were a superior

class. Mr. Giddings in Congress said, "The scene at the depot would have disgraced Algiers. Wives bidding adieu to their husbands; mothers in agony, unable to bid farewell to their daughters; little boys and girls weeping in distress; and over them the fiend armed with pistol and club." National law did it! Votes did it! The professed disciples of Christ did it!

The mob moved off to the office of the National Era to assail it, but the City Government and Cabinet interposed and succeeded in preventing violence. The editor, however, was called on and requested to move his paper out of the city, but this he firmly refused to do. The vast crowd again turned upon him, but persuading them to listen to him a few moments, he so pacified them that he escaped the coat of tar, and his press from being thrown into the canal. The subject was then transferred to Congress, with the inhuman obduracy and violence of the mob.

April 18, Mr. Giddings asked leave to present resolutions stating the fact that more than eighty persons were in the United States jail uncharged with crime, and asked for a committee to inquire by what authority the prison was used for confining persons escaping from slavery. Intense excitement followed, and the motion was refused. Mr. Palfrey, of Massachusetts, offered a resolution stating that a mob for two nights past had committed acts of violence and threatened members of the House, and moved for a committee to inquire what further legislation was necessary. Long, fierce debate followed, with accusations against members of the House of being "partners in theft and felony," and should be expelled; that

"abolitionists were vile hypocrites"; that Mr. Giddings had only a "hot-house popularity"; that "he should be hung as high as Haman." After three days' fight in the House, the resolutions were tabled, having only forty votes.

Mr. Hale opened the war in the Senate by a resolution that "property destroyed by mobs should be paid for by the town or county where it was done." Here the same vindictive arrogance followed. Calhoun said he "would as soon argue with a maniac from Bedlam," as with him. Foote, of Mississippi, said that such a resolution "was an attempt to commit grand larceny,' and "intended to protect negro-stealing. I invite the Senator to visit Mississippi where he would soon grace one of the tallest trees with a rope around his neck; and, if necessary, I would assist in the operation." But although standing alone in a den of thieves, with its surroundings, he nobly, fearlessly, defended himself and his action, and terribly assailed the despotism which was taking our country's life. In return for the invitation to visit Mississippi he invited Foote "to visit New Hampshire, where the people would be happy to listen to his arguments, and engage in intellectual conflict for the truth."

No heroism in American history deserves higher honor than that of these few noble men, who, loaded with scorn and at the risk of life, fearlessly defended the liberties of their country and its crushed victims, with scarcely a heart in sympathy with them, and their country itself on the side of their assailants. Tell it to children's children to the end of time!

The captain and mate of the Pearl, Drayton and

Sayers, who had dared to attempt "to deliver the poor that cried," and had barely escaped being hung to the yard-arm of their own vessel, had been in jail until July, when they were brought to trial. It was a farce, for no justice was possible. They were sentenced on many indictments practically to imprisonment for life; but when Filmore was President they were released and hurried beyond the serpent's grasp. But where were the seventy-seven, some of them Christian girls? Gone — doomed! but perhaps a few survived and heard the trump of Jubilee. All this was done by the nation while shouting for liberty in France! "Woe unto you, scribes, pharisees, hypocrites!"

January 27, 1848, Mr. Giddings presented this case to Congress: A colored waiter at a public boarding-house, who had been employed there several years with his wife, was seized by three armed persons engaged in the slave-trade and, in presence of his wife, gagged, placed in irons, dragged off to the slave prison, and hurried away to the slave market in New Orleans. By great industry he had nearly paid for his liberty by contract with his owner. Such events, Mr. Giddings said, were common in the district governed by laws of Congress, and he moved for a committee of five to inquire into the facts, and report on the propriety of repealing all laws of Congress authorizing the slave-trade, or the removal of the seat of government to a free state. Confusion and excitement followed, when a slaveholder moved to lay on the table, which was done — yes, ninety-four; no, eighty-eight. Three representatives from Maine, a civilized, Christian state, voted

yes,— Hezekiah Williams, David Hammons, Franklin Clark. But the chief guilt and shame will forever rest on the unrepentant souls of those who voted for them. How amazing that Divine justice was restrained so long!

CHAPTER XXIV.

STATE ANNIVERSARIES. PROGRESS. COURAGE. ACTIVITY. COUNTY MEETINGS. DEATH OF J. Q. ADAMS. AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTISLAVERY SOCIETY. REV. SILAS MCKEEN. REV. J. S. GREEN. STATE CONVENTION. NOMINATIONS THE CONDITION. PARTY STATE CONVENTIONS. BUFFALO CONVENTION. GREAT RALLY AT LEWISTON. STATE ELECTION. RALLY AT THE STATE HOUSE. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. CONGRESS.

THE state anniversaries were held in Hallowell, early in 1848. The Liberty Convention elected Judge Farnsworth, President; A. F. Holt, A. Redlon, Secretaries. Lunsford Lane, an eloquent fugitive, with his son of twelve years, was present, and produced a deep impression. Henry Bibb, another fugitive, unequalled except by Frederick Douglass, also thrilled the meeting. General Fessenden made a powerful speech on the guilt of making chattels of such noble human beings. Mr. Cone reviewed the history of the cause, showing its cheering progress. Elder Stevens said that if the American pulpit had done its duty on slavery, there would have been no Mexican war, and its twelve thousand murdered victims would not have been sacrificed. General Fessenden was re-nominated for governor but declined, as he was determined to spend all the time possible in the field. The committee was instructed to call a convention to make a nomination of governor and electors sometime during the season.

The Maine Liberty Association followed. Each session of both meetings was opened and closed with prayer. H. Bibb sung an affecting song — "The Slave's Lamentation." The Second Annual Report was read by Mr. Willey, earnestly discussed, and adopted. The officers elected were: — R. G. Lincoln, President; Rev. P. Folsom, Secretary, W. R. Prescott, Treasurer; W. Davis, A. Willey, G. A. Thatcher, W. S. Reed, C. G. Parsons, J. Chase, Executive Committee. General Fessenden, A. Willey, S. May, were a committee to invite J. P. Hale and Judge King to visit the state during the summer. Closed with prayer by Dr. Tappan.

The report congratulated the association on the success of the year, and urged gratitude to God that the great cause was rolling steadily onward to its destined triumph. Means had not been furnished to employ all the labor intended. About three years' work in the aggregate had been done, and a great amount of reading matter put in circulation. The Treasurer reported the receipts for the year to be nine hundred and sixty-six dollars and eighty cents. The North Yarmouth Female Sewing Circle had given sixty dollars, obtained by their beautiful fair. The cause must have two thousand dollars for the ensuing year. Never were the fields "so white for the harvest." The amount necessary for the circulation of reading matter was five hundred dollars. "Let us awake to manly, Christian action. As we sow, so shall we reap. The word of God like an audible voice from the skies, and his providence like a pillar of fire bid us go forward with a conquering faith."

Resolutions asserted the objects of the Liberty party — the extinction of slavery to the utmost extent of constitutional power; the impossibility of this by either of the old parties; the atrocious guilt of the Mexican war; that the committee make every effort to have organizations in every town; that the shameful votes of Hammons, Williams, and Clark, on slavery in the District of Columbia, prove them unworthy of public confidence or respect; that we heartily approve of the nomination of John P. Hale and Leicester King for President and Vice-president, and they shall have our enthusiastic support, (adopted by a rising vote of the whole body); that the fourth of July be celebrated all over the state; that Mr. Willey having labored much in the state without pay even for traveling expenses, two months the last year, the committee hereafter pay him for such work.

General Fessenden started a plan to raise the two thousand dollars by one hundred shares of twenty dollars each, and seventeen were quickly taken, and fifteen more were already pledged in Oxford County. These joint meetings were large, intelligent, and determined, with no breath of compromising for an instant their sublime positions.

The Religious Antislavery Convention followed. The call was read by Professor Smyth, prayer by Rev. J. Stevens. Rev. D. Thurston was called to preside. Cone and Lincoln, Secretaries; Smyth, Hawes, Folsom, Field, Robinson, Bullock, Sewall, Committee. These, together with Wiswall, Lane, Davis, Tappan, Willey, Vinton, Field, Morse, Folsom, were prominent speakers. Bibb, the fugitive, was called for and for

two hours held the fixed attention of all, with many tearful eyes, by his eloquent narrative and appeals, and he closed with a plantation song. The vast audience that crowded the South church was stirred to the bottom.

Resolutions were passed in favor of the efforts to give the Bible to the slaves; urging prayer without ceasing, that God would give success to the great effort for the overthrow of slavery; that the pulpit is solemnly bound to bear positive testimony against all participation in the sin of slave-holding; that the criminal Mexican war ought immediately to cease if our nation would escape the judgments of God; with a resolution in honor of the memory of Deacon Dole. It was a rich, Christian, impressive occasion and a committee was chosen to call another.

The more local work in counties, towns, and other localities, followed the state anniversaries. It was the presidential year, and neither time nor effort was lost. I accompanied Mr. Davis to the county meetings of Franklin, Oxford, Cumberland, and Lincoln. In about a week we attended a two days' convention, and, separately or together, ten other meetings. While facing the cold blasts in February and March, I fully realized the value of the warm buffalo overcoat — a present from the girls in New Sharon. It was a precious comfort during all my years in Maine, and still better for many years in Minnesota. It was always much warmer because of its givers.

In meeting the people the progress of our cause on the mind of the state was most obvious. There was candor and desire for information, with a purpose to

do their duty, such as we had never seen before. They were becoming suspicious of their old parties in spite of all their delusions. Mr. Hale had a strong hold on their hearts.

On the 21st of March, 1848, the nation was moved by the death of John Quincy Adams, by a second attack of paralysis, while in his seat in the House of Representatives. The great patriot and statesman was gone, but the voice of his later life for liberty was heard by the nation and civilized world with still greater emphasis. A noble sentiment of his, "reaching forth to those things that are before," is worthy of history. "I leave nothing to live after me but aims beyond my means, and principles too pure for the age in which I have lived." Mr. Stanton, who was present, wrote: "Among all the glowing eulogies upon his character, there was not one allusion to the crowning glory of his career!"

The annual meeting of the American and Foreign Antislavery Society, held in May, in New York, and which I attended, was large and powerful. The tabernacle was crowded. Arthur Tappan, President. H. B. Stanton made a stirring speech on the duty of persistently resisting the extension of slavery into territory acquired by the war. Mr. Vionis, of Paris, spoke, after which John P. Hale was introduced with great applause. He dwelt on the responsibility of the citizen at home — the true "seat of government," and duty of agitation there, instead of Congress. "He appealed to Christians to clear the church and garments of its priesthood of the blood of the slaves. Thousands of professed Christians in this city every week baptize this accursed system."

Some four hundred were at the public breakfast prepared by the Society, where prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Garnet and music by the Hutchinsons. Mr. Hale was again called, and frequently interrupted by enthusiastic applause. Dr. Bailey, from Washington, spoke, and others, with singing by a company of negro children. The resolutions expressed earnest gratitude to God for the progress of the cause; the responsibility of the church as the pillar of slavery; the duty of the Bible Society to give the Bible to every slave who could read; a hearty welcome to all fugitives; delight at the progress of emancipation in France, Sweden, Denmark, Lahore, Peru, and New Grenada; respect and gratitude to Messrs. Hale, Giddings, Palfrey, and Tuck, in Congress; warm approval of the Hale and King nominations, and "a pledge not to desist from the contest against slavery till the accursed system is overthrown."

Rev. Silas McKeen has already been mentioned. He was a number of years pastor of the Congregational church in Belfast, Maine, but had now returned to Bradford, Vermont. The great question was in agitation there also, on the exclusion of slave-holders and slave-holding bodies from Christian fellowship, and he took up the subject elaborately, and with unanswerable logical ability in a pamphlet of thirty-eight pages. It was a "Scriptural Argument" in support of such exclusion, and contributed a powerful influence in favor of "casting out" the great sin from the church of Christ. Few men exceeded him in logical discrimination and clearness of statement. His argument was extensively circulated. Rev. J. S. Green,

missionary at the Sandwich Islands, was a frequent correspondent for our paper many years, and rendered much service to the cause by his faithful pen, and encouragement to our labors.

A State Liberty Convention met in Waterville, June 20, 1848. D. Farnsworth, President; C. R. Vaughan, L. J. Hadlock, Secretaries; G. A. Thatcher, S. May, A. Willey, W. Davis, Dr. Lynde, J. Chase, C. Farrar, Dr. Gilman, Committee. Thrilling songs by Messrs. Burnham, Foster, Howe. It was well attended two days. General Fessenden was nominated for governor by acclamation, when the whole assembly rose and the hall rang in response. General Appleton and Drummond Farnsworth, were chosen for presidential electors, and a large committee appointed to issue an address to the voters of the state.

Resolutions declared that as a party we seek the emancipation of the slaves by the use of every moral and constitutional means; that the Whig and Democratic parties have extinguished the last hope for freedom from them by their selection of candidates for President; that we are cheered in seeing good men leaving them; that both have abandoned the great issue for territorial liberty; that we honor the heroic J. P. Hale for his triumphant conflict with tyranny in the Senate, and Messrs. Giddings, Tuck, and Palfrey, in the House; and pledge the utmost support to our national and state tickets. Prominent speakers were May, Davis, Farrar, Willey, Cone, Vinton, Allen, Waterman, Hill, Farwell, Lincoln, Cushing, Thatcher. All returned gratified and resolved for still more vigorous work.

The supreme question in the national government, and with constantly increasing power on the public mind from the time the struggle for Texas began, had been the territorial extension of slavery. This had been the single fixed object of the South as its only protection against the rising, inflexible antislavery power at the North; and correct intelligence had extensively reached the people, chiefly by efforts of abolitionists against political party deception, and by a constant fight in Congress. Territory enough had been obtained by robbery, murder, and stealing, and its security to liberty had as yet been chiefly defeated. But it was still an open question. Both the old parties at the North had generally declared for the freedom of that vast territory, and this had great influence in getting support for the war. The Whigs were loud in claiming antislavery support on this ground, and Democrats were equally explicit in their avowals.

All our political history had demonstrated that the people of the North would submit and yield to anything for party success. However positively declared against the annexation of Texas, the slave-holders only had to chain it to the wheels of party in the last presidential election to secure their object. Essential surrender of both parties at once followed. And now, with all their recorded declarations in conventions, legislatures, papers, and votes and speeches in Congress, this great issue of territorial liberty was entirely abandoned. Even the Whig Convention in Maine, after all the talk and profession of years on this subject as the chief capital of the party, totally abandoned

it in utter silence. Not a word was heard for that proviso of liberty. Silence, with a safe candidate, would satisfy the slave-holders, who now only demanded — "Let us alone."

A large section of the Democratic party in New York stood by Mr. Van Buren on the Texas issue, for which he was beheaded in 1844, and had supported the proviso for territorial liberty. The Democratic National Convention, in 1848, was held in Baltimore, in June, and New York elected a delegation of this class, called "Barnburners," — burners of party barns. The Hunkers managed to send another delegation of their class. A long effort was made to induce the Barnburners to pledge their support of the candidate nominated by a two-thirds rule. This was positively refused, and they were virtually denied seats. They then withdrew from the convention, and Lewis Cass was nominated. He had explicitly repudiated the proviso. The surrender was complete.

The true character of that convention was seen in a resolution, declaring that "all efforts to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery were dangerous, and ought not to be countenanced," while it was using all its powers in its behalf, and then avowed its fidelity to the Declaration of Independence!

The legislature of Maine in June elected Hannibal Hamlin to the United States Senate. He was defeated at the preceding election, as was believed, by his speech in favor of excluding slavery from the new territories; but his harmony with the overseers at Baltimore and acceptance of General Cass had put all right, and he received the full vote of his party.

But too much light had reached the people and weakened party attraction, to hold them in quiet submission. In New York a convention was speedily held by the Barnburners in Utica, with delegates from Ohio, Wisconsin, Connecticut, Iowa, and Massachusetts. Honorable S. Young's election as chairman, was accompanied by immense enthusiasm. In his speech he said he "was proud of being called a Barnburner, for thunder and lightning were often barnburners." A letter was read from Martin Van Buren, which was dignified, earnest, and strong in support of free territory, and fully justified the course of the Barnburners at Baltimore. He could not vote for Cass or Taylor. Immense applause followed. Dispatches, letters, and delegates increased. John Van Buren was loudly cheered, and powerful speeches were made by delegates from other states. The demand for a nomination was unanimous, and Martin Van Buren was nominated by acclamation, though against his earnest wishes.

The Whig National Convention was held in Philadelphia, in June. General Taylor had already been selected by the most ultra slave-holders, chiefly on the ground of his generalship in military butchery in Mexico, and this had been extensively responded to in the North, notwithstanding Webster and Clay were awaiting their last chance. But the slave-masters prevailed, and Taylor was nominated — a slave-holder and opposer of all restriction of slavery. The proviso was introduced but treated with arrogant contempt. That party, too, abandoned all its loud professions, and surrendered the great issue of territorial liberty.

But a new day was dawning on our country. The long, patient "sowing in tears" the seed of truth was not in vain. It was germinating in the hearts of the people at last, the old political fortresses of slavery were decomposing, and the people combining around the flag of Liberty. The day had dawned, and none felt the cheer like the weary veterans. But they saw also the danger of compromise, and firmly stood by their principles, refusing all alliances on any other ground. The nominations and positions of both parties were equally offensive to the best portion of their members east and west, and abandonment was a rising tide.

A great non-partisan convention rallied at Worcester, Massachusetts, in two weeks, which I attended. Great men were there. It was dignity inspired. Judge Allen, Samuel Hoar, S. C. Phillips, J. R. Giddings, C. F. Adams, J. Leavitt, J. C. Lovejoy, C. Sumner, H. Wilson — such were the men. Their bold eloquence rose to the true, sublime position,— "The extinction of the slave power, and, ultimately, of slavery in our country!" Another immense rally occurred in Cincinnati, at the same time, for "Free Soil and Free Labor!" The action of both Whig and Democratic parties was repudiated, and the "heroic conduct of the Democracy of New York" cordially approved. Here, too, were sound principles — "No interference with slavery in the states: No establishment or support of slavery by the national government: No slave territory: No more slave states." The Democratic State Convention in Vermont, after a stormy conflict, was barely able to pass a resolution in sup-

port of General Cass. The minority at once issued a call for a "Convention of Freemen," which was held at Montpelier, August 1.

Another was called by Whigs and Democrats to meet in Portland, July 26. All who were opposed to Cass and Taylor and in favor of "free labor and free men" were invited. Liberty men were there. It was held in the city hall, and numbered a thousand. Speeches were made by Joseph Adams of Portland, Mr. White of Philadelphia, McFarland of Bangor, a Democrat of Pennsylvania, and remarks by General Fessenden, A. Willey, H. K. Baker, Neal Dow, and others. A delegation was chosen to the national Buffalo Convention. It was a strong and fraternal occasion, and an era of the cause in the state. Another great Northwestern Free Soil Convention was held in Chicago.

August 9, 1848, a National Free Soil Convention met in Buffalo for a union of all opponents of slavery on a presidential ticket. Both Van Buren and Hale approved of this course. The Liberty party was reluctant to place the name of its favorite candidate in question; but after full consideration consented, and heartily entered into the movement. If it placed itself on sound principles a great accession of power against slavery must result; but if unsound, the Liberty party would restore its own flag. Though appointed a delegate, the sick bed of a wife had higher claims, and I must submit. The convention was immense. By nine o'clock the vast tent was crowded to the utmost. The delegation from Ohio of several thousands marched in with banners flying and great

cheering. Nineteen states were represented, including Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Delaware, and District of Columbia. Charles F. Adams was elected President.

On the second day the vote was taken for candidate for President, which stood for Van Buren two hundred and forty-four; Hale, one hundred and eighty-one; scattering, forty-one. This left Van Buren twenty-two majority. Mr. Leavitt in a thrilling speech moved that it be made unanimous, seconded by Lewis of Ohio, with a heart-stirring appeal to friends of Hale to accept it, which was done with terrific cheering. C. F. Adams was then nominated for Vice-president. A long series of resolutions was adopted, which were identical with the principles of the Liberty party, and made the way clear for its united support. Although Van Buren's principal record made it hard to support him, yet our principles were safe, and that would save the cause. John Van Buren, his son, was urged to take the field, which he did, visiting most of the free states and maintaining sound antislavery truth with great ability.

The work in Maine was pressed forward with new energy, inspired by the animating prospects of the times. Every agency possible was called into the field, and General Fessenden addressed the people in many parts of the state effectively. County and district conventions were held for nominations, work, and inspiration; and a great amount of reading, speeches, and other matter, was given to the people. The enslaved parties had a hard case. The legislature re-

peated by resolutions its opposition to "the introduction of slavery into any territory acquired from Mexico." This was necessary for "home consumption," though self-stultifying, while supporting their national tickets. The enemy, having selected the great territorial issue as its Gettysburg, concentrated its forces and entrenched there; the forces of Liberty must combine and meet it on this decisive field. The rallying heraldry now ringing for volunteers all over the free states was "Free Soil — Free Speech — Free Labor — Free Men." Under this banner hosts were hurrying into line with the veterans of Liberty, who adopted that flag as their own for the fight. Our paper being recognized as the representative of the new movement, we changed its name, August 31, 1848, to "Free Soil Republican."

The cause in Maine and other states unitedly adopted this name, not only in the free but in many slave states. Free Soil meetings were held in Louisiana, and clubs formed. An immense mass meeting was held at Lewiston, September 8, attended by John P. Hale and Hon. S. C. Phillips of Massachusetts. Such a sight had never been seen in Maine. The people came with teams seventy-five miles, and it was estimated that three thousand were there. The assembly was under the shade of maple trees. Ezekiel Holmes was President. I was called to speak, and was followed by Seth May. In the afternoon Mr. Hale was received with great applause and spoke two hours in a powerful and telling manner. Mr. Phillips spoke in the evening. Flags were flying, and

all retired rewarded, inspired, resolved. The Free Soil Ticket was as follows:

For President.
MARTIN VAN BUREN.
For Vice-President.
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.
For Governor.
SAMUEL FESSENDEN.
Representatives to Congress.

Dist. 1, David Gerry.
Dist. 2, Samuel Fessenden.
Dist. 3, Ezekiel Holmes.
Dist. 4, William H. Vinton.
Dist. 5, Cyrus Fletcher.
Dist. 6, Jeremiah Curtis.
Dist. 7, William A. Crocker.

State Senators.

York, Andrew Leighton, George Tappan, Samuel C. Adams.
Cumberland, Joseph Andrews, Meshach Humphrey, Marshall Cram, Joseph W. Parker.
Oxford, Abraham Andrews, Alvah Hussey, William Wyman.
Lincoln, E. P. Tobie, William Ames, P. Wadsworth, Abner Rice.
Kennebec, H. K. Baker, Ralph Butler, Moses True.
Somerset, William C. Stinson, Levi Williamson.
Franklin, Samuel Daggett.
Penobscot, Cyrus Crockett, Elias Breck, B. B. Shaw.
Waldo, Theodore Cushing, Josiah Harmon, T. Thorndike.
Washington, Eben Fisher, I. J. Robinson.
Other nominations completed the ticket.

The state election gave the following results for governor and Free Soil:

York	1035	Franklin	847	Hancock	180
Cumberland	1759	Somerset	1207	Washington	448
Lincoln	908	Piscataquis	475	Aroostook	21
Kennebec	1670	Penobscot	1651	Total	12,114
Oxford	974	Waldo	939	Preceding year	7,676

The Democrats had a small plurality, and that now re-elected Mr. Dana. Free Soilers elected thirteen state representatives, and defeated the election of about one half the senators. The Whigs elected two representatives to Congress, the Democrats the re-

mainder. But the grand increase of the vote for freedom inspired its friends as never before.

September 27, a state Free Soil Convention met in the State House at Augusta, Joseph Adams, Portland, President. Two thousand crowded the hall, two hundred from Waterville with a band of music. Adjourned to the State House yard. John Van Buren, Charles Sumner, John P. Hale, addressed the mass convention with an eloquence and power never equalled in the state. They were responded to with rousing cheers. The resolutions quoted from the Constitution, showing its objects — "to establish justice, secure the blessings of liberty," etc. ; that the government had long been perverted into a basis of slavery ; that the first duty of the citizens was to restore it to its proper sphere; that the question of the extension of slavery into the vast new territories was supreme ; that both of the old parties had deserted it; that the new party, the Free Democracy, rested on solid principles which should be the rule of their future action and was hailed with joy, and its candidates should receive their utmost support. The following list of electors was chosen: Joseph Adams and Manly B. Townsend, electors at large; John J. Perry, James Appleton, Ezekiel Holmes, Calvin Gorham, D. Farnsworth, Franklin Muzzy, William A. Crocker, electors. It was a splendid occasion.

Every effort was now turned to the presidential election. The opposing parties were in so difficult a situation as compelled them to adopt unscrupulous measures to mislead the people. Personal detraction, insult, falsehood, did their best. The Whigs were in

a dead minority of twenty thousand, and their old sophistries and delusions of "throwing away votes," "electing Democrats," "least of two evils," etc., were turned home to roost. There was no possibility of their carrying the state; but if they would support the Free Soil candidates there was a fair chance of giving the electoral vote to freedom. They were therefore "throwing away" their votes, or voting for Cass. This they never intended for home use. The great struggle which had been pressed with such energy all over the land, reached the ballot-box and there recorded its progress gained. Mr. Van Buren's past subserviency to slavery and trained party prejudice were used to the utmost by the Whigs, and they were an obstacle especially in New England. In Maine the money furnished for the campaign was very inadequate.

The contest resulted in the election of Taylor and Fillmore, the former with no fitness, and successful only by the odium of the Polk administration and Van Buren's rejection. The vote in Maine stood: Cass, 40,195; Taylor, 35,273; Van Buren, 12,170. Gain over 1844. 7,284; and a strong balance of power in the state. The antislavery vote of the country was about three hundred thousand. Here was a victory! No sublimer, more beneficent and patriotic reform was ever found in history than was now moving to power. It was God's providential upheaval "to let the oppressed go free." Millions were wailing under the oppressor's lash, our country was drifting upon the rocks, and the helm must be placed in other hands or all go down. In 1840, seven thousand refused "to kiss the lips" of

Baal and rallied, — the "reserved." In 1844 over sixty thousand stood shoulder to shoulder — the "army of the Lord of Hosts." And now in 1848, three hundred thousand volunteers are in line on the field. The nation feels their power, and its usurping despotism foresees the future and is rousing to desperation. With uncompromising fidelity, final victory was assured. What more was needed to inspire even weary, worn, veterans for renewed assaults? Not less than three hundred papers were now essentially on their side.

The Governor of South Carolina in December proposed a "Southern Convention," and resolutions were presented in its legislature, saying that it was evidently the intention of the Northern states to prohibit slavery in territories; that it would be "an outrage and insult" to which that state "would never submit."

The exclusion of slavery from the church and its fellowship was making progress. The Methodist church North had effected entire separation. The Presbyterians by division had reached about the same position. The Freewill Baptists carried their religion to the ballot-box, and declared it sin to vote for slaveholders or their accomplices. The Congregational Conference in Maine received two reports from the committee appointed last year on withholding fellowship with slave-holding bodies. The minority recommended withdrawing fellowship; the majority, its continuance, with further labor, and chose a committee for that purpose. At the meeting of the American Board a resolution was offered "that it distinctly affirms that slave holding is a practice not to be allowed in the Christian church." This was rejected.

"The Independent," a new Congregational paper, was now started, unsectarian and unpartisan, but boldly against slavery and for Free Soil, to the whole extent of constitutional power. This brought a new religious power just where it was needed.

On the opening of Congress, Mr. Palfrey, of Massachusetts, asked to introduce a bill abolishing slavery in the District. Refused, nays eighty-one; yeas, sixty-nine. About seventy-five dodged! From free states twenty voted for the great crime — two from New England, Clark and Wiley from Maine. They were not forgotten. Mr. Root, Free Soil, of Ohio, determined to force action on the great territorial question while the members were fresh from the people, and moved to instruct the committee on Territories to report a bill at once for the government of territories, excluding slavery. Passed — one hundred and seven to eighty, and forty-two dodged. The Free Soil votes frightened them. A motion was made to instruct the committee on the District to report a bill abolishing the slave-trade in the District which was carried in the House, ninety-eight to eighty-seven. Clark, Hammons, Smart, Wiley, and Williams, from Maine, all voted against it. It will ever disgrace its history. But the vote was afterward reconsidered, one hundred and nineteen to eighty-one. Taylor was coming. Douglas tried to have California, New Mexico, and the most of the territory obtained from Mexico, admitted as one state, silent on slavery, and divide it in the future; but he failed. Successive measures kept up a warm debate and agitation. A claim was introduced in the House for the payment of one thousand dollars

for a slave lost in California, which was long debated, and finally passed, one hundred and six to ninety-four, thus recognizing human beings as property. It was a new step downward, and by a Whig House.

The Southern members of Congress held a protracted conference on their situation, in which they testified to the wisdom of the opponents of slavery at the North as to their objects, to their fidelity, and future progress. Their issue must be met by a united South, but they were about equally divided as to measures. Calhoun and his class did not hesitate to intimate disunion as the only hope, while others were more conservative. The late election had obviously revealed their destiny. It was the intention of the South, as intimated in Polk's signature to the Oregon bill, to fall back at last on the Missouri Compromise line for settlement of the question of slavery in territories; but the Free Soil vote put an end to that, and Congress failed to devise any policy by which it could be settled. Northern members, with exceptions, dared not compromise, and the great struggle must go over to the Taylor administration. The Free Soilers saved the country from fatal compromise.

The Free Soil vote in 1848:

Connecticut	5,003	Delaware	80	Indiana	8,643
Illinois	15 804	Iowa	1,126	Louisiana	1
Maine	12,124	Massachusetts	88,263	Maryland	125
Michigan	10,389	N. Hampshire	7,560	New York	120,519
New Jersey	849	North Carolina	85	Ohio	35,456
Pennsylvania	11,209	Rhode Island	730	Texas	3
Vermont	13,837	Virginia	9	Wisconsin	10,418

There were several thousands scattering, especially in New York for Gerrit Smith, nearly all known to have been Liberty votes, making a total of nearly three hundred and fifty thousand.

CHAPTER XXV.

MAINE ANNIVERSARIES. S. P. CHASE ELECTED SENATOR. BLACK LAWS REPEALED. PRESIDENT CHENEY. THE LEGISLATURE. RESIGNATION. REVIEW. ABSENCE.

THE anniversaries in Maine for Liberty were held in Winthrop, beginning February 21, 1849. The Religious Convention came first, and Rev. E. Robinson was chosen President; C. R. Vaughan, A. F. Holt, Secretaries; J. T. Hawes, D. B. Randall, F. Lyford, Mr. Rogers, Business Committee. The resolutions affirmed little respect for a religion professing great regard for the *souls* of men, while refusing to aid in saving both soul and body from slavery; that Jesus Christ when on earth was a reformer, and his example demands a hearty support of all reforms for improving the condition of man; that the progress of anti-slavery principles among professing Christians was a most hopeful sign of the times; that the essential rights of man are religious rights, which the church is bound to assert and defend by the civil power of its members, its discipline, and its testimony; that political action should never be divorced from religion, but directed by it; that the prevention of slavery in the vast new territories demands every power possessed, and earnest prayer to a merciful God to turn the scale for justice.

A committee was chosen to memorialize all the various churches of the state on the subject of slavery;

and another to call the next convention. The meeting was characterized by deep religious impression and earnestness in prayer, a special time for which was devoted to the subject of territorial extension of slavery. Lewis Clark and Rev. Mr. Henson, a colored refugee from Canada, added much to the interest of the convention. Earnest discussions were by Waterman, Thurston, Fessenden, Willey, Davis, Holt, Wentworth, Rogers, Randall, and others.

The Maine Liberty Association followed the next day, S. Fessenden, President ; E. Holmes, A. F. Holt, Secretaries ; Willey, Davis, Farnsworth, Day, Committee ; R. G. Lincoln, W. R. Prescott, R. Butler, E. Holmes, Central Committee. The resolutions among other things asserted that God and nature designed a "Free Soil for a Free People," that "the three hundred and fifty thousand Free Soilers, trained in the school of reproach, will never lay down their arms till the government is brought back to where our patriot fathers placed it — the Charter of Liberty; that true Democracy is Christianity applied to government, and answers its true ends only when it conforms to its laws ; that the removal of slavery is the highest duty of the people ; that our positions are — no more slave states — no slave territory — no slave-trade on the high seas — the national government for impartial liberty, to the full extent of its jurisdiction. These meetings exceeded anticipation in numbers and interest, and aided in awakening again to activity. The Association had not now the means to employ agents. Mr. Davis closed his agency at the presidential election, and opened a law office in Belfast. He had de-

voted nearly three years to arduous, self-sacrificing labor for the cause both by speech and pen, and had rendered it great service. And his active fidelity to it continued till its final triumph. County and local meetings were held, literature distributed, volunteer work put in, and the fires of liberty re-kindled. I attended many county and other meetings in sun and storm.

And the cause rested in other states only to count the ballots. Great conventions rallied in New York, Ohio, Massachusetts, and other regions. The mighty pivotal question of territorial liberty was still in earnest contest in Congress, and the land was rocking. The great Deliverer of the oppressed was placing another "mighty man of valor" by the side of John P. Hale in the United States Senate. A senator was to be elected in Ohio, where Free Soil held the balance of power in its legislature, and S. P. Chase was chosen. His noble record is ever to be a part of the nation's history in its crisis hour. In December, 1849, he took his seat, the second champion of liberty in that enslaved body. Its power was more than doubled, its cheers reached every true heart in the land. The soul of Liberty "is marching on."

Another important result attained by "throwing away votes," was the repeal of the infamous "Black Laws" which had been enacted in many, especially border, states against colored people. The object was to prevent slaves running away by making their condition wretched in free states. After the election of 1848, Ohio hastened to clear its statutes of this shame. Other states followed, and those laws soon disappeared.

The great issue of slavery extension not being settled under Polk's administration, Taylor and his party were compelled to grapple with it. The Whigs at the North had held a large part of their support by representing him as on the free side of that question; but now he must take position, and on the Southern side. This hastened on the disintegration of the party. The Democrats were released from the immediate service of slavery, and Free Soil principles fast permeated the mass. They supported Mr. Chase for the Senate in Ohio, and in Wisconsin the Cass division in the legislature held a convention, adopted the Free Soil platform, and went over to that party as a body. In Connecticut the Democrats in the House united with the Free Soil members and elected a speaker of that party and a Democratic clerk.

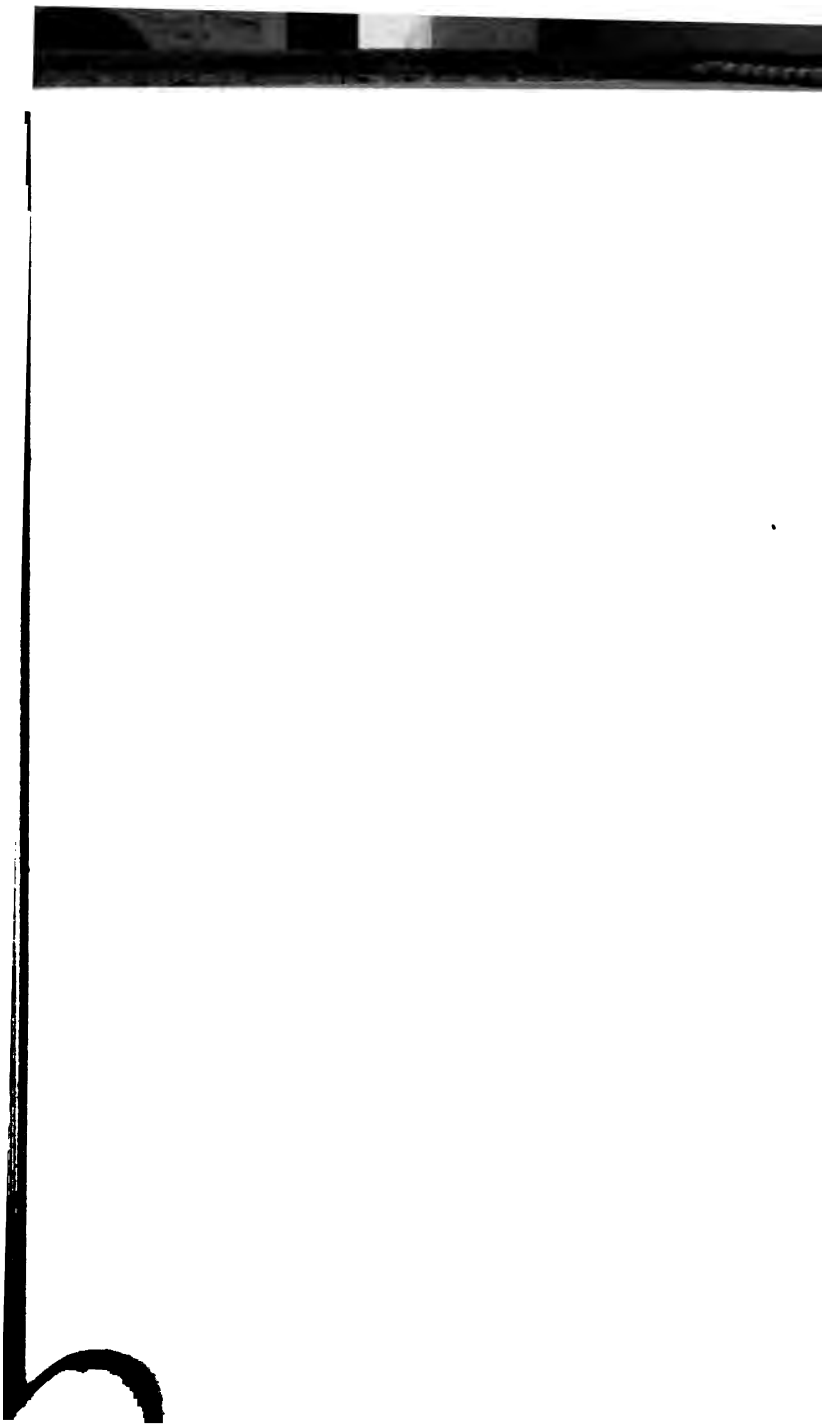
The legislature of Michigan, in May, passed resolutions for the entire abolition of slavery and slave-trade in the District — in the House, thirty-seven to nine; the Senate, seventeen to five. Such facts indicated the tendency of the times.

Now came the sad intelligence of the death of Alvan Stewart! Myron Holley had already gone. No two men had done more to plan and establish the great practical remedy for slavery — a new political power. Mr. Stewart lived to see its assured success.

One of the early distinguished young men in the antislavery cause in Maine was Rev. O. B. Cheney, now President of Bates College. He came from New Hampshire, a graduate of Dartmouth, in 1839, and already a positive abolitionist, made so by seeing a mob assault an antislavery woman's prayer-meeting.



O. B. Cheney



He combined teaching, preaching, and active antislavery work wherever he might be, difficult as that was at that day. He was, for a time, principal of Parsonsfield Academy, with a useful ministry in Effingham, New Hampshire, when he was notified one day that his allusions to slavery were offensive. He immediately left that field. He was accused of saying something about slavery in the school, and a son of a Maine politician left it. He lectured often on the subject, debated with politicians, and kept up agitation on the great enormity wherever his work might be. Not being of that class who could talk against slavery and then vote for it, he sustained Birney for President in 1840.

Mr. Cheney rendered efficient aid to the antislavery cause, during the election of senator to Congress, by the legislature, in 1848. Hannibal Hamlin was the Democratic candidate. His position was favorable to freedom but not satisfactory to antislavery men, and it was a difficult question for the Free Soil members of the legislature to decide how to vote. Mr. Cheney went to Augusta at the time and urged that Mr. Hamlin be voted for under the circumstances. This conviction prevailed and Mr. Hamlin was elected by their votes.

The Free Soilers nominating Mr. Cheney for representative to Congress from the York District, he declined the nomination in favor of the Whig candidate, a gentleman of decided antislavery views. Subsequently for a like reason he urged the antislavery members of the legislature to support Mr. Fessenden for United States Senator.

While settled in Lebanon, Mr. Cheney was elected representative to the legislature. Whigs and temperance Democrats voting for him; and there he did valuable service in securing the passage of the Maine law in 1851. He also secured an anti-gambling law, which was a valuable tributary to the other. He was faithful to the slave till slavery fell. He was a just representative of his religious denomination, which, as such, was the front line in the conflict. And his eminent success in founding and managing a worthy Christian college, the public well know.

A special attack was made about this time on the friends of the cause in Congregational relations, especially, to induce its ministers to withdraw from it; but if they refuse, to break them down. Some yielded, but soon lost their places. Others who stood firmly were also compelled to look elsewhere. Accusations were made by the *Mirror* and its co-operators against Rev. J. T. Hawes, of New Sharon, which were boldly met by calling a council, the decision of which was his entire vindication. That bitter faction failed, and finally declined to extinction. The "Congregationalist" was now started in Boston on the side of liberty, to the relief of the denomination.

The legislature of Maine met in May, and found that no governor was elected, and senators were defeated in nine districts. The Free Soil votes had done it. The difference between the votes of the slave parties was about ten thousand, the Liberty vote was over twelve thousand, and the House proceeded to elect. In the House General Fessenden had seventeen votes, the others one hundred and twenty-two

each. The Senate was Democratic, except two, and J. W. Dana was re-elected. Both Houses jointly filled the vacancies in the Senate. The great divisory element was at work in the Democratic party in Maine as elsewhere. It was necessary the preceding year to make strong professions in favor of the proviso of liberty; but now, the governor in his Message repudiated his own declarations on the Free Soil issue. But it had taken root with the people, and a strong opposition arose in the legislature as to that part of the Message, and the subject was referred to a committee. The party was dividing. Many of its papers strongly opposed the governor.

Circumstances now compelled a change with respect to the paper. The hardest battles had been fought and victory assured, but there were no pensions for the soldiers. A class of men and women as faithful, determined, and self-sacrificing as Bunker Hill, had stood by me and enabled me to keep the field till a grand relief had come into line. But it was obvious that the paper could never become a basis of adequate support, and obligations to my family made a change imperative. Hoping for benefit to her from a journey and visit to our native Campton, New Hampshire, I took a feeble wife and two little children there a year before; but instead of gaining, she was prostrated and unable to return, and with little prospect of improvement. What could we do? A Free Soil paper, the *Portland Inquirer* had been commenced in that city, and I transferred my subscription list to that, closed my work, and left the state. As my last editorial

was a sketch of the history of the sublime cause for more than ten years, I quote from it:

With this number of our paper we close our labors in the state. We cannot describe the emotions awakened by such an announcement, and perhaps it may excite surprise at least with our readers. The time has come when duty to my family and myself is incompatible with the degree of sacrifice hitherto made in this sacred cause. Ten years we have labored with such ability and energy as we possessed, by day and night, in sunshine and storm, in cold and heat. No effort has been withheld, no self-denial avoided, where its interests called. Rejoicing in the privilege of taking an active part in such a cause, we have worked hard, fared hard, and done what we could. We began our antislavery life by the side of the poor slaves, and there have tested principles and duty, there derived inspiration, confident ever that their great Deliverer had undertaken their emancipation. Surrounded as the cause was with every element of hostility, stupefaction, and darkness, we have sought to follow the example of the prophets, apostles, and Christ himself, against gigantic sin and crime, in the use of the "sharp two-edged sword of truth."

As to our success we can only say that, believing our obligation to maintain truth as it is, and not always as seen by others, we shall yield to no impeachment of sincerity or fidelity. Our opponents — but we scarcely know there are any. Every principal argument has been conceded, and scarcely a tangible form of opposition is left on the field. Those who have resisted this righteous cause, or refused their co-operation, are answerable, but not to us.

Our hosts of friends with whom it has been our privilege to labor through long and tedious years of difficulties too appalling for any but the stout-hearted; to whom we are under so heavy personal obligations; to whom we are attached by undying recollections — to those excellent men and women we tender the hand of fraternal parting. The satisfaction of having carried *such* a cause through *such* an infancy to manhood, will be the reward of their later life, and the honor of their children's children. Beside the paper, we have issued from this office (and printed most of it,) more than two and a half million pages of large tracts, beside books, pamphlets, etc., purchased, which cannot be estimated. All this, with the labor performed in the field, agencies, and raising funds to sustain them, attending conventions, promoting central and local action, beside a large correspondence in the state and out of it.

In 1839, there were only some loose organizations — temporary works thrown up, which the merely prelusory breezes of the tempest of 1840 showed to be entirely inadequate. The ark alone saved the race from the deluge. It was obvious that the friends of Liberty must be further disengaged from the hostile influences of surrounding society, or be overwhelmed by them. To do this politically, breaking the chains of party attachment, was deemed, by many friends even, as utterly hopeless; but there was no alternative. Its independence was its life, and it must be achieved cost what it might. Those whose lot it was to lead the assault on the lines of party power, counted the cost. They knew there was no pardon for such high treason — they must be victims — execrated—crucified. But they faltered not. The helpless slaves, their country, Christianity, liberty — demanded the offering, and it was laid on the altar. The results are now beginning to be seen.

The contest was sharp, severe, but truth prevailed. Now the cause is strong in numbers, in character and in influence. Our associate laborers will participate with us in the satisfaction arising from reference to these old fields of conflict where objects so essential to human freedom were won, and "the substance of things hoped for" assured.

Nothing is now wanting in Maine but inflexibility of purpose, untiring activity and integrity, to secure the results so long sought. We would have enjoyed with our thousands of endeared friends in Maine that great Thanksgiving which is coming, but so it may not be. The ten years' devotion to this glorious cause, though often under almost crushing affliction, has but ennobled and endeared it to every sentiment of the heart. That heart will beat true to it while it beats at all.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE WORK RENEWED. TAYLOR'S ADMINISTRATION. CALIFORNIA. COMPROMISE OF 1850. GENERAL TAYLOR'S DEATH. FILLMORE. GREAT MOVEMENTS IN MAINE. SUMNER'S ELECTION. FUGITIVES. RELIGION BETRAYED. PROGRESS OF FREEDOM. LIQUOR PROHIBITION. GREAT SUCCESS. SLAVE LAW AND CHRISTIANITY. GREAT RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT AT THE WEST. OLD PARTIES. NATIONAL FREE SOIL CONVENTION. HOME ACTIVITY.

I WAS absent from Maine nearly a year and a half, seeking, waiting, hoping for the improvement of a suffering wife. The winter was spent in Vermont in my earlier profession of music. Receiving an invitation from Michigan to an editorship, I made a journey there and found a good field, but could not risk the removal of so feeble a wife to that distant state; nor did my formerly intended profession appear practicable under such circumstances. It was a cloudy day; but the parting words of good Deacon Mitchell, of Pittston, were not forgotten. Having taken each other's hand with the good by, he turned at the door and tremulously repeated, "Trust in the Lord and do good, and thou shalt dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed."

I was receiving urgent requests to return to Maine from that state; and as I learned subsequently, prominent men in the cause in other states were urging such an arrangement. Family health having improved sufficiently and encouragements pre-

sented, it was decided to return to the old field. It was perceived confidently when I resigned that the cause rightly conducted, an early triumph in that state was all but a certainty. But I found it depressed. The paper was on the verge of ruin, and it required a thousand dollars to relieve it, which was at once raised with Brown Thurston and Company, publishers at cost. State and other organizations, once so vigorous, had expired, and the Free Soil vote of the state fell off from twelve thousand one hundred and twenty-four in 1848, to less than eight thousand in 1849, and seven thousand two hundred and sixty-seven in 1850. Thus the work must be renewed, re-organized and re-inspired.

General Taylor entered the presidency, March 5, 1849. He was a large slave-holder, had been fighting in the interest of slavery, had been well supported in his election by the South, and the selection of his Cabinet showed that his administration was to be reliably on that side. But he had been non-committal on particular issues, and no doubt intended to pursue a conservative policy. Territory had been conquered for slavery, and the great effort to defeat that object by the proviso of liberty had as yet been defeated. The work now was to secure the prize; and the policy adopted was to press slavery into the territories as rapidly as possible, hold control there, and hasten this organization into states tolerating it. An early act of General Taylor was to write to the governor of California to urge an immediate state organization. This was soon done and admission asked. But behold — an article in the Constitution prohibited slavery for-

ever! Here was a thunderbolt. Oregon had already been lost, and now that whole remaining coast is to be lost — what then? The discovery of gold in 1849 had carried such a rush there from the free states as to control the action. So "God carries the counsel of the wicked headlong." After many months of belligerent debate the bill for its admission finally passed.

Losing so much territory, the slave-holders then demanded the division of Texas and New Mexico into sections, each to become future states. They urged the division of Texas into four parts. They were confident of holding all that territory, and thus secure a safe number of states and control of the Senate. Never were Southern members more desperate or defiant. Calhoun and his followers declared positively that if slavery should be abolished in territories and the District, the Union should be at an end. General Taylor would not sustain such threats, but said distinctly that he would protect the Union, if needed, "at the head of the army." He lost much Southern support, for he would not stand by that issue.

Webster and Clay were opposed to his election, doubtless because of their desire for the office; and they now turned away from him with other leading men of both parties North and South, in favor of a "compromise" by which they said the great trouble and danger would be removed. And this was encouraged by many Northern members in the old parties deserting their Free Soil professions. The preceding House was decidedly for territorial liberty; but now Mr. Gidding's resolutions — that all men were created equal, and that it was the duty of Congress to

secure to the people of all the territories the inalienable rights of life and liberty, were tabled by a majority of *thirteen* on motion of a slave-holder. The proviso was obviously lost, so far as those parties were concerned. Freedom had *eight* heroic men in that House, who defied all threats of dissolution and nobly defended the right. The design of the so-called "compromise," planned by leading men of both parties, Clay, Webster, Fillmore, and others, and championed by Mr. Clay, was to satisfy and unite the South, commit the administration to its support, secure its indorsement by Congress, then both parties would be compelled to accept it alike. This would relieve parties of all belligerency on the subject, unify the whole power of the country against the antislavery upheaval, and destroy it. This they called "pacification."

The "compromises" were, to admit California, have no restriction to slavery in territories, no abolition of slavery in the District, but abolish the trade "as merchandise," provide more effectually for the recovery of fugitives, and declare that Congress has no power against the slave-trade between the states. This was no compromise, but essential surrender of the country to the slave power. But the great movement for "pacification" received strong support in Congress and by the class of the country hostile to the antislavery cause. It was seen in Maine at Bath, in that "Union Convention." The Fugitive Slave law was a first-fruit of it. Daniel Webster supported the whole Compromise, against the avowed principles of his whole life. He indorsed and defended the execra-

ble fugitive law. His last chance for the presidency would be in 1852. Had not a party, inflexible, instructed, with its three hundred thousand voters been in the field at this period, probably the effort to save our country would then have been lost.

The Almighty was in it. Petitions were pouring into Congress against the "Black Law," slavery in the District and territories; legislatures were speaking; powerful conventions were rousing the people; and the atrocities of slave-hunting were increasing the agitation.

General Taylor would not support the servile compromise policy of Clay and Webster, and felt deeply the hostile, embarrassing influences of those Whig leaders. In that distress of mind he suddenly died, July 9, 1850, and Vice-president Fillmore, of New York, became President. He, too, like Webster, repudiated his Free Soil professions, joined the compromisers, appointed Webster his Secretary of State, and followed his leader in faithful obedience to the slave power. Webster's seventh of March speech in the Senate in support of the Fugitive Slave law, and of his surrender to the despotism of slavery, will ever stand a sad monument to his memory. It was explained at the time, as designed to secure the next nomination by his party for president, but it totally failed. These events of the times, though dark, were clearing the way for the progress of liberty. They were demonstrating the worthlessness of all professions of liberty by parties in alliance with slavery, and with uncertain leaders. They were also working the disintegration, division, and extinction of those parties which were the chief obstacles to liberty.

The year 1851, found the mind of the country excited on the great subject as never before. The Fugitive Slave law was meeting with Northern resistance as no other measure had done. This aroused the South, and the supporters of the great Compromise plot became alarmed. Non-partisan conventions were held by them to defend especially that law as a constitutional obligation. One such was called in Bath, Maine, by leading men of the pro-slavery class in both parties. Letters were read from Whig Senator George Evans, Senator Bradbury, Lewis Cass, Judge Tenny, and others, defending the law, which was supported also by Judge Howard, Mr. Goodenow, and others, as a constitutional right of the South. The principle of a "higher law" was denounced severely. All law must be obeyed. And this convention, it is sad to say, was at once followed by some pulpits in that "cotton city" in substantial support of its positions. One was that of Rev. Dr. Fiske, who said "slavery was not anywhere forbidden in the word of God." But this only increased the agitation, for the people had become too well instructed to accept the office of blood-hound slave-catchers. Large meetings were held in Portland and other places against it, and, on January 22, a large state convention met at Winthrop, in opposition to the Fugitive Slave law, called by General Fessenden and others; S. C. Foster, of Pembroke, President. It continued two days with great interest and ability, assisted by Doctor Peck and Mr. Pierce, of Philadelphia. The resolutions mentioned the "higher law," and that they would harbor, feed, and aid the escape of every slave coming

to them ; that the fugitive law was in direct violation of the Constitution, and Southern threats of dissolving the Union were entirely disregarded; that it was the immediate duty of Congress to repeal the law ; and that ministers and the religious press were appealed to for their support of a religion which includes the rights of man. Letters of great ability were received from Hon. Horace Mann, Hon. J. R. Giddings, and Hon. S. P. Chase, at Washington, Judge Tappan of Ohio, Hon. J. M. Niles of Connecticut, and C. F. Adams of Massachusetts, sweeping away every defence of the law, and urging every effort for its repeal. Ten thousand copies extra of those letters, resolutions, and speeches, were printed and given to the people. The repeal of the Fugitive Slave law now became a leading theme.

The energy manifested in calling county meetings in February and March was encouraging for the cause; and if this last insult of despotism forced on the people, making them the slaves of slave-hunters as a constitutional obligation, would not move them, there was nothing left to move. I attended as many of those meetings as possible, unexpectedly and gladly meeting the people again, and receiving their greetings. George Thompson, of England, returned to the United States and employed his masterly eloquence again in appeals to abolish slavery. He gave an address in Portland. An address to the people of the United States by a public meeting in Edinburgh, Scotland, and written by the eminent Doctor Ritchie, came over at this time against the sin and shame of the Fugitive Slave law. The Christian world rebuked us.

History of this great rising for human progress would lose one of its richest features if it failed to notice the Providential diversity of qualities in the prominent persons raised up for the achievement of its sublime designs. Every human power was needed, but these could not be found in any one person, or class of persons. Consequently every diversity was brought into the field which the work required in a remarkable degree. Some possessed logical powers unsurpassed in English literature; others were armed with an equal eloquence; others could win with charming felicity; others expose to execration like Amos among the prophets; others like Whittier could bring the almost resistless powers of poetry to its aid; and others like the Hutchinsons combine the eloquence of both poetry and song; and then came forth the women's power upon the human heart in "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

In the United States Senate stood the fearless Hale with extraordinary power on the common mind of the country; and by him, the able, judicial, executive Chase. But one more was needed to constitute the band of "three mighty men" there at the heart of the slave power and of the nation. In March, 1851, the election of Charles Sumner was pending in the Massachusetts legislature. He represented the best scholarship, literary and judicial, the highest culture, ability, and eloquence, and all on a high moral plane. Massachusetts could make no higher contribution to the country and its liberties. The three parties were such that no election was possible without combination, and Democrats and Free Soilers had an understanding be-

fore election for union if they could thus carry the legislature against the old aristocracy of "Cotton Whigs." This was hard for the servile class of Democrats in the House, especially against the severe pressure from Washington. Voting was repeated over and over, Sumner leading but lacking a few votes. I was in Boston at this time and called on him. It was known that he was very reluctant to have his name used. He said that "personally, he hoped he should be defeated, for his ambition was to see how much good one could do out of office rather than in." Nothing led him "to consent but the possibility of doing more for the cause of liberty as senator, than in any other way." Such strange remarks, with his sincerity, indicated the man, and at last his majority was gained. It was another grand victory for the oppressed, and for the nation's redemption, for which he lived, and at last died, a martyr. So we were seeing the reward of our toil, and the assurance of final success. Every friend of freedom in the land passed the cheers along our lines, and slave-holders read their future.

They were pressing their slaves into all the territorial regions, New Mexico, Utah, and California, and the acquisition of Cuba was not forgotten. And having gained the enactment of the "Black Law," a "pacification measure," as its Northern defenders called it, they rush into free states for their victims, with relentless audacity seize colored people, sometimes residents for years, perhaps never slaves, and attempt to drag them off. They hurried away into Canada and New Brunswick — a land of liberty. It was a privilege in

Maine to aid many such. The Underground Railroad did a large business.

A case occurred in Boston which excited great interest. A fugitive young man from Virginia, named Shadrach, had resided in Boston two or three years. The assumed owner had sent on an agent to take and bring him back under the new law. He obtained from the United States Commissioner, G. T. Curtis, a warrant, and while Shadrach was waiting on the table at a hotel he was seized and taken to the court-house before the commissioner; but postponement was granted to give time for the defence. The Court adjourned, and Shadrach was left in charge of the deputy marshal and a few assistants. Nearly all had left the room, when a shouting crowd rushed to the door, some pressed in, and a colored man named Brown went directly to Shadrach, took hold of his shoulder, and both went out. A carriage was ready, and both quickly disappeared through the crowd. He was landed safe in Canada. Mr. A. A. Barker, then in Maine, says: "Brown was pursued but not captured. He was got into a car by aid of friends, sent to Portland, then to South Paris, and from there I took him in my sleigh to my house in Lovell, where I kept him two weeks. We had meetings with him all about the country, collected money and clothing, (he was a fugitive,) got his wife from Boston to Portland, and sent them with twenty others to New Brunswick. I had a letter from him after he got from there to Canada. My house was a home for fugitives as long as I lived in Maine, as it was afterward in Pennsylvania."

There was no violence and no resistance. The laws of Massachusetts disallowed the use of jails or other public property for the confinement of slaves. But great excitement followed, and President Fillmore issued a proclamation, signed by Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, commanding obedience to the laws, and prosecution of its violators. Events of this class, with varying outrages, were occurring in most of the free states. A man in Massachusetts had been allowed by his owner to go north and earn money to pay for his freedom. This he did, sent the money, got receipt, but was told that he must come back to get legal papers. He left his family and went, and that was the last of him. The trap caught him.

It is a sad fact for history that this last systematic endeavor to protect the enormous crime of slavery, received a vigorous support from religious sources at the North. Andover Theological Seminary was an arsenal ever open. Moses Stuart, the eminent professor, and Doctor Wood, hastened to sign a letter of thanks to Mr. Webster for his seventh of March speech, and published a pamphlet in his defence. Doctor Taylor, at the head of theology in Yale College, made a great speech in behalf of the compromise. The fugitive law "was according to the will of God." Doctor Spencer, of New York, poured scorn upon ministers who opposed that law. A large number, especially titled ministers in large cities, — some in Maine, — earnestly supported the "Union-saving" movement with its blood-hound law, and the country was filled with their productions. Was it strange that the Southern heart was hardened to desperation? Did

they not "prophesy lies"? The war was opened in the next session of Congress by the President's Message which commended the Compromise, especially the fugitive law, and urged its vigorous execution. No one was allowed by it to harbor a fugitive, and every citizen was required to aid his recapture if needed. Many free persons were dragged off. A husband and father was carried off into slavery in Indiana, after nineteen years residence.

A colored man named Simms, affirmed to be a free citizen of Massachusetts, was claimed by Potter of Georgia, arrested, taken before Curtis the Commissioner. The court-house was surrounded with a chain, and guarded. Every effort was made for some fair trial without success, and a company of three hundred men, trained for the work, guarded his removal in the early morning to a vessel which carried him to Savannah. An immense throng followed, and on the wharf when he was gone, pathetic prayer was offered, the answer to which was not then foreseen. He was whipped, sold to New Orleans, then to Vicksburg where afterward he met Grant's army, and was sent North. But the excitement was intense. It was all done by co-operation of the city authorities in violation of law. Immediately following was a convention called in opposition to the fugitive law. Faneuil Hall was refused, and Tremont Temple was crowded to the utmost. Such a meeting I never had witnessed before, nor listened to such inspired eloquence, by Messrs. Mann, Phillips, Palfrey, Wilson, and others. It was electricity.

The legislature of New York had elected W. H.

Seward to the Senate on the side of liberty, and Ohio by Free Soil power had placed Mr. Slade there by the side of Mr. Chase. He did distinguished service. In the spring elections the Democrats in New Hampshire were defeated again by four thousand majority, and the two Free Soil representatives to Congress re-elected by increased votes. Mr. Sumner's election was hailed with special joy, and Mr. Rantoul and Mr. Goodrich were added to the list of free representatives to Congress from Massachusetts. These and other similar facts showed the progress of liberty against the great endeavor to crush it.

The legislature of Maine met in May, 1851. Only nine senators were found elected by the people, and Free Soil had five members in the House. The vote for governor, in 1850, was: Hubbard, Democrat, forty-one thousand two hundred and three; Crosby, Whig, thirty-two thousand one hundred and twenty; G. F. Talbot, Free Soil, seven thousand two hundred and sixty-seven; scattering, seventy-five; Doctor Hubbard's majority, one thousand seven hundred. The governor in his message strongly indorsed the compromise measures, which were to settle the controversy between the states! And he specially defended the Fugitive Slave law, although admitting that there is a "higher law"; but "who will undertake to interpret it in a given case?" God's law is supreme, but no mortal man can tell what it is in reference to dragging fugitives back into slavery! Pitiable! — but the best he could do.

Petitions for a Prohibitory Liquor law had been sent to the legislature for many years, and in great num-

bers. When it was found, to the great disappointment of temperance people, that the total abstinence policy alone was a failure, and inevitably would be, the question had to be met, what shall be done? It centered in the issue, license or prohibition. The latter was called an untried theory, impracticable, of impossible execution, whatever it might be in theory. But license of wrong *was* wrong, it was argued, and wrong could not be useful; that the effect would be demoralizing in proportion to the amount received — a bribery upon the conscience of the state, (Chief Justice,) and making any effective remedy more difficult if not impossible; that while it might remove or conceal some of the enormities of drunkenness it would not essentially diminish the evil. Tampering was not their object, but like the antislavery reform, they were determined to *stop* the curse; and they believed in the people that the law could be executed to immense good of the state. After fully arguing the question in conventions and the press, the decision was to follow the law of moral right, and trust in God for success of their labors, undiverted by any fractional theories. The decision at last gained the support of all true temperance men, and there was concentrated the labor of years with the people, and by petitions and arguments in the legislature.

Rev. Doctor Enoch Pond of Bangor Theological Seminary, strongly opposed the license policy and advocated a prohibitory law. He thus represents the argument against license. "This law conferring the licensing power I consider as wrong in principle and ruinous in tendency, and the friends of temper-

ance should not cease to show up its absurdities and urge its repeal The absurdities of the licensing system are palpable and monstrous. We make laws for the punishment of various crimes, and license that which we know to be the prolific mother of almost every crime. We prune the leaves and twigs of the poisonous upas tree, and water the roots."

This one supreme end was never compromised, or any substitute admitted for a moment. By this they conquered in 1851. A committee was appointed by the House to report a bill, and one had been carefully prepared by Mr. Dow, General Appleton, and others, copying much, they said in Massachusetts, from a bill framed there but defeated. The bill passed the House, eighty-one to forty, and the next day passed the Senate. It surprised the state. Some voted for it for home capital, believing the governor would not sign it, but he did it promptly. It was the greatest advance in American legislation. The *Portland Inquirer*, our paper, was the only one in the state that at once hailed and indorsed it except the temperance paper. We wrote:

With unusual satisfaction we refer our readers to the entire act. It is an honor to the state beyond any other act in its history thus to excel all other civilized states in bold, righteous legislation against a giant evil under which innocence bleeds and humanity weeps. Other states have now but to copy this statute of Maine. But the law will not execute itself. There must be an inflexible determination throughout the state that the liquor traffic *shall now be stopped*. Who can estimate the benefit of this law *executed* to the happiness and prosperity of the people of Maine!

Mr. Neal Dow was elected Mayor of Portland, especially that the new law might have a fair test. If he



Neal Dow







failed to demonstrate its value as a large portion of society believed he would, that would end the long agitation. He at once notified the dealers that the law was to be strictly executed, but he would give time for those who had stocks to ship them out of the state, and a large exportation followed. He found it difficult to find a police willing to defy the threats of the dealers in the searching processes, and fearlessly accompanied them himself. Large quantities were seized, deposited under the city hall for trial, condemned, rolled out, the ax applied, and the liquors flowed down the gutters instead of human throats. Great crowds looked on in silence. It was a new scene. The effects were soon so obvious in the quietude of the city by day and night, scarcity of arrests, empty jails and lock-ups, as to surprise society and win its support of the law.

On August 26, a "Grand Temperance Watchman celebration," was held in Portland, the object of which was to enlist society in the inflexible purpose to maintain and execute the law. A procession of some three thousand marched through the city to Deering's grove, accompanied by brass bands from Portland, Yarmouth, Bath, and Saco. Prayer by Dr. Dwight, and collation. Then speeches by some in Portland, and by Dr. C. Jewett and Dr. L. Beecher of Massachusetts, General Cary of Ohio, Mr. Hawkins of Baltimore, N. Dow, Portland. In the evening there was a great rally in the city hall. It was an occasion of great interest and value for the object designed. Such were the undeniable benefits of the law there and in the state generally, as to weaken opposition and entrench

it in the convictions of the people. The liquor interest had not then fixed its policy and become an organic power in the land.

The fugitive law placed the religion of the country which was "subject to bondage" in a very difficult dilemma. Should it be obeyed? If not, then there was a positive, fundamental issue with slavery, and no escape. There was a "higher law" and the inevitable question must be — "Shall we obey God rather than man?" To support that law and demand obedience to it was to affirm the blasphemy that God's law justified slave-hunting, or human law was of superior obligation. What should they do? Some sought to escape by silence, like the Presbyterian bodies. But Northern Methodists were prominently for the "higher law." The New England Conference strongly declared the law "anti-Christian," and that it was "the imperative duty of every man to do all in his power to render it inefficient and secure its repeal." The Free-will Baptists, as ever, were bold and positive against that infamous law.

The Universalist Reform Association met in Boston. Hon. I. Washburn, Chairman, "denounced the infamous law and its champion, Daniel Webster, and declared that we should obey God at all hazards." The Congregational Conference of Maine were totally silent on the question of slavery and the man-stealing law. Not a word was heard for the slaves in prayer, and some resolutions simply asserting the duty of obedience to God's law as against man's, handed to the committee, were withheld.

The Congregational Association of Massachusetts

resolved, "That to God as supreme Lawgiver, supreme obedience is due, and no law contrary to his is binding on us." The Methodist Maine Conference said, "The Fugitive Slave law conflicts with the law of God and is not to be obeyed." The Maine Baptist Convention said, "The Fugitive Slave law contravenes the law of God, and we earnestly recommend patient enduring the consequences of non-compliance, and make every effort for its immediate repeal." The Unitarian Ministerial Conference held in Boston, said, "We exhort all who would honor the Christian name to remember those in bonds as bound with them; to aid their escape, never betray them, and give no countenance to men who would return them to slavery." Similar principles were asserted by religious bodies in Illinois, Michigan, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Ohio. The religion of the Bible was not lost, though fearfully betrayed. Chief Justice Shepley, of Maine, took occasion when charging a jury to state true principles against the whole political infidel current of the times. He said: "When a man has clearly ascertained that a law is opposed to Divine law, the human law must be disobeyed, and the Divine law obeyed." So the fundamental principles of Christianity and civil liberty, purchased with so much Protestant blood, were not to be sacrificed to American despotism by either political or religious traitors.

A great Religious Antislavery Convention was held in Chicago, in July, which had not been exceeded in importance, piety, and ability. There were two hundred and sixty-five enrolled delegates from eleven states, one hundred of them ministers, including presidents

of colleges, professors in literary institutions, beside judges and lawyers. There were President Blanchard, President Mahan, Professor Finney, Judge Stevens of Indiana, Rev. J. G. Fee of Kentucky, Rev. N. Colver of Boston, Rev. D. Thurston of Maine. It was distinguished for its devotional spirit, although Professor Phelps, of Andover, says antislavery people were "Jacobins of France and Nihilists of Russia — destructionists." All denominations were represented. Its great and sacred object was to enlist the Christian religion against slavery. "They had argued and waited for religious bodies to act, but generally with no success. They were trammeled by the proud conservatism of the Atlantic cities. It was time to act, at least at the West." The meeting was united and dignified.

Among its declarations, reported by President Mahan, Chairman of Committee, were that "there can be no form of evil, moral, civil, or political, against which Christian literature ought to array itself if not against slavery"; that "intentional silence in respect to any gross wrong is open advocacy of that wrong"; that "to excuse or palliate any form of known sin by such literature is to array itself against the fundamental principles of Christian morality"; that "this convention feels compelled to testify to the melancholy fact, that to a very great extent the religious literature of this nation is most unchristian and morally corrupting respecting one of the worst forms of moral evil on which the eye of Heaven ever rested." They specify the known course of the Bible Society respecting slavery; the American Sunday School Union in an early

volume allowed a few sentences against slavery, but dropped them by Southern order. The American Tract Society had published against every other sin, but nothing against slavery even when the cost was offered. The American Board in their publications had been essentially silent on slavery, not even allowing their missionaries to speak. The periodical religious press, to a very great extent, omit all testimony against slavery as sin, or apologize for or defend it by the Bible. Most theological seminaries not only omit all proper elucidation of slavery as "only evil continually," but in many the teaching is openly pro-slavery. The world knows that the strongest defenders of the Fugitive Slave bill are theological professors. They therefore resolve, that "this defect in the religious literature of the nation is the cause of the rapid growth of infidelity; that all Christians make the correction of this deplorable wrong a subject of constant, public, and private prayer; that religious publications which are either decidedly pro-slavery, or, at this crisis period, practically if not directly concede that we ought to obey man rather than God, should never be allowed in Christian families."

Here the standard of God's religion was nobly raised by faithful hands, and his order obeyed, "Show my people their sins." It is a model for all the future. The indictment is sad, but true history must record it. Where does the Christian church practically stand at this period in presence of the greater liquor crime? God's justice did not, and will not again "sleep forever."

The state had returned to January as the time for

the meeting of the legislature and date of its political year, and continued the terms of office, so that in 1851 there were no elections. The Free Soil party held no state convention, and no agents were in the field. We had attended many county meetings, and lectured as much as possible in different parts of the state. All Free Soil men were Maine law men, and the interest in the vigorous execution of that law diverted some labor from the cause of liberty. Correspondence was constantly bringing information of its execution with cheering effects in all parts of the state. The systems of organic action, except the political party, employed up to June, 1849, when we left the state, were largely given up. The state anniversaries of a religious convention and the Liberty association, through which means were obtained for employing agents and distributing literature, disappeared. The vote for governor, in 1850, fell off two-fifths from 1848, and with it much of the activity of the cause.

Now autumn evenings had returned, and the national elections were approaching, every effort possible was made to re-invigorate the cause. The enslaved parties were preparing for 1852. The "compromise measures," intended to break down the great struggle in the nation against slavery as was done by the Missouri Compromise, had been adopted by Congress as non-partisan, and were zealously supported by the Whig administration ; but that was insufficient. The plot must have ratification by the people, and this could be secured only by wrapping it up in party creeds in the national election. This was now a difficult work, for both parties were fully committed

against its principles; and the great endeavor of Clay, Webster, and the administration, in co-operation with leaders in the Democratic party, had been to carry the parties and the people over from liberty to despotism; to induce them to play the traitor to their loudest vows. This was the political strain preparatory to 1852. It was hard work, and working party dissolution. The party leaders and presses in Maine were toiling earnestly with the people to work off the "*free* soil" of the past and dress up with *slave* soil for the future, every man to vote himself a slave-catcher on demand. Interior states knew very little of the increased difficulties of freedom in Maine from its close commercial relations with the South. The whole coast was held in nearly absolute bondage.

A great Free Soil Convention in Ohio proposed a national convention to be held in Cleveland, September 24, not to nominate candidates, but to open early the presidential campaign. This was responded to favorably, and the convention was held. Dr. Lemoyne, of Pennsylvania, was chosen President. It was a great, glorious convention, assembled for the sublimest purposes. Eleven states were represented, and by able men. Prominent speakers were, Samuel Lewis of Ohio, W. Davis of Maine, S. P. Chase, Ohio, George W. Julian of Indiana, and C. M. Clay of Kentucky. His speech received great applause. He said the vote of the Free Soil party in Kentucky was four thousand, and the great hall rang in response. Music contributed its best inspiration. The usual committees were appointed, and one with a member of one from each state to call another convention to nomi-

nate candidates for President and Vice-president, and fix the time and place. Resolutions of sound statesmanship were discussed and adopted, asserting that "law is without rightful authority unless based on justice, and government is without stability unless righteousness be its end; that Congress should divorce the National Government from all connection with slavery wherever it has jurisdiction; that public lands belong to the people, and should be sold only to actual settlers; against a standing army and navy; in favor of river and harbor improvements. Our determined position is, no more slave states, no slave territory; that the 'Fugitive Slave Act' is a violation of the Constitution, of natural and revealed religion, and a monstrous exhibition of tyranny, injustice, cruelty, and oppression; that our party is the party of the Constitution, — of union, freedom, and progress, with no north no south, no east no west, and we look with entire confidence for the adoption of our principles by the people of the land." Immediate activity and organization were then urged; and most eloquent, inspiring addresses closed the two days convention. It had obeyed the order — "Blow the trumpet in the land."

Energetic efforts were made in Maine to make use of the autumn and winter, with their greatest leisure and long evenings, in preparing the people for the coming year. One was to obtain a thousand new subscribers to the Inquirer; and this was already well begun. And the state committee undertook the circulation of speeches and other able documents by thousands all over the state. Volunteer lectures were

called out in the state, and some obtained from abroad. We made a trip to Skowhegan to a temperance meeting, then to Pittsfield with our esteemed and faithful friend Stinson, and lectured afternoon and evening; then to Jackson the next afternoon; to Brooks, Saturday evening and Sunday; in Thorndike two addresses, and in Unity one, making a dozen speeches in about a week. The trip was encouraging from the evidence that the late apathy was passing away, and previous energy returning. Many new subscribers to the Inquirer were obtained. County conventions in all parts of the state began to revive.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE COMPROMISE A FAILURE. DANIEL WEBSTER. GREAT RELIGIOUS CONVENTION IN MAINE. TEMPERANCE. PORTLAND ELECTION. "UNCLE TOM." FIRST FREE SOIL REPRESENTATIVE FROM MAINE. NOMINATIONS OF SCOTT AND PIERCE. MAINE FREE SOIL CONVENTION. NOMINATIONS. RELIGIOUS HOSTILITY. MR. CLAY'S DEATH. SLAVES IN CALIFORNIA. SUMNER'S GREAT SPEECH. NATIONAL CONVENTION FOR LIBERTY. NOMINATIONS. PLATFORM. STATE ELECTIONS. DANIEL WEBSTER'S DEATH. THE ISSUE. ELECTION. RESULTS.

THE year 1852 came with a welcome by every friend of freedom. The powerful endeavor to incorporate the infamous compromises into both parties and then ratify them in 1852, had proved a failure, and was essentially dead! Union upon that basis was found impossible in Congress, and equally so in nearly all the states. In Massachusetts the Whig-Webster party was overthrown in state elections and left in a hopeless minority — the scorn of freemen. In New York neither party dared commit itself to the compromises, and the efforts of the administration and its pro-slavery supporters to do this killed the party. A large part of the Democratic party in that state stood their ground on Free Soil. In Ohio that party held the same position, and the compromise party was utterly routed. In Wisconsin the Democratic party attempted to carry that load of infamy, and was crushed. In Vermont the Whig party was non-committal, and escaped. In Michigan nearly the whole

Congressional delegation was carried against the measure. The Democratic party at the South objected to it, Calhoun rejecting all compromise. The great "Union measure" was lost and its authors and their parties with it. Antislavery truth and ballots had done it.

The highway of liberty was cleared, and all its past issues were open again for conflict, with the shameless man-hunting act added. Prayers had been answered, toil rewarded, "the counsel of the wicked carried headlong," and final victory was still more assured. Thus opened the New Year. To live when liberty is the leading object of God's providential government, is enough to make a moral hero.

Daniel Webster began his public life with strong moral convictions, and in 1819 was prominent in a great convention in Massachusetts, in opposition to any more slave states, powerfully defended its constitutionality, and was on the committee to call on the delegation in Congress to support the position, sustained by petitions of the people. But in 1824 he surrendered, as the country did, to the Missouri Compromise and its champion Henry Clay, and his public life essentially ended in supporting the man-and-woman-hunting slave act, for it was not law. It was no doubt intoxicating liquor that gradually paralyzed his moral sensibility, and left his example a lesson for young men.

The first public action of the year in Maine was a religious state convention at Augusta, January 20 and 21. The call was signed by over seven hundred church members and one hundred and sixty ministers

of all denominations. The object was, "To consider what duties the Word and Providence of God impose upon us in reference to slavery in our country." The object met with almost universal approbation in the churches, and the meeting would have been the largest ever held in the state but for the immense blockade of snow and severity of cold. It was large for such circumstances, and secured important results. Hon. D. Farnsworth was elected President, with Revs. D. Thurston, Cone, Weaver, Richardson, Peck, and Blake, Vice-presidents; C. B. Smith, M. I. Kelley, Secretaries; E. Knowlton, S. Thurston, Rev. Higgins, S. Fessenden, Lewis Tappan of New York, Committee. Rev. George Thompson, missionary to Africa, who had been in prison five years in Missouri for aiding an escape, also took part. Letters of warm sympathy were received from Professor Shepard, Bangor; Professor Stowe, Andover; Rev. S. McKeen, Vermont.

The resolutions asserted: The duty of prayer for our country; that the duty to obey human law ceases when it is opposed to Divine law; that as there is no power out of the Church that could sustain slavery if it was not sustained in it, a most fearful responsibility rests on the ministry and membership to use all their powers for its overthrow; that caste was opposed to republicanism and religion; that the Fugitive Act is a violation of the Constitution, an audacious invasion of Divine law, an inhuman instrument of oppression, and ought to be execrated and disobeyed; that the only remedy for slavery is to give the slaves equal rights where they are; that slave-holders should be debarred from Christian recognition as much as liquor

dealers; that sincere thanks be returned to friends in other countries for their sympathy and influence.

These positions were sustained impressively by Revs. S. and D. Thurston, Lewis Tappan, Rev. Mr. Ambrose of Illinois, General Fessenden, Rev. Mr. Kelley, Rev. Mr. Bartlett, Rev. R. B. Thurston, Rev. G. W. Hathaway, A. Willey, Rev. Mr. Knowlton, Rev. Mr. Hayden, Rev. Dr. Tappan, Rev. Mr. Perham, W. Davis, Rev. Messrs. Randall, Stevens, Allen, and others. The enslaved condition of the country and all its institutions civil and religious, material and literary, its pulpits, religious presses, and most of its churches were in bondage, and "my people love to have it so." The awful responsibility of the Church of Christ for all this was faithfully exposed. Had it been faithful, slavery would not have been in existence, and it had ample powers to annihilate it. It *must* be aroused to duty!

A committee was chosen to prepare and publish an address to the Christians of Maine on their duties with reference to slavery, to call another convention, and adopt other measures of action. Much fervent prayer was offered, a fraternal, devout, earnest spirit prevailed, and all felt this indeed was a Christian Antislavery Convention.

This was followed by a State Temperance Convention, which was large, traveling having become practicable. Governor Hubbard was chosen President, with other officers. In the evenings two meetings were held and crowded. From all parts came reports of the excellent results of the law. Rev. Mr. Thompson told of the large quantities of liquor sent from this

country to Africa, and its disastrous effects. Speeches were made by General Fessenden, A. Willey, Lewis Tappan, and many others, in support of the law and its vigorous execution. The resolutions expressed thanks to God for the signal success of the law, to the legislature and executive for enacting it, and to all officers who had been faithful in its execution; that the law is worthy of the support of every citizen, and their utmost efforts were pledged in its favor, "the great moral reform being infinitely above all old party considerations." It was a grand occasion and contributed much to establish the law in the hearts of the people. Religious county conventions were held in New Sharon, Bangor, and some other counties, also Liberty county meetings. W. Davis aided many of these.

The legislature passed an anti-gambling law, which removed a twin evil, and aided the efficiency of the prohibitory liquor law. The liquor interest began its war on the prohibitory law, but with no success in that legislature. But that interest gained a victory in the defeat of Neal Dow's re-election for mayor of Portland. He had so fearlessly and faithfully executed the law about eight months as to make a demonstration of its fatal possibilities against the liquor traffic. He was assailed by every invention of slander, falsehood, and malice, political papers were silent or fierce against him, and religious papers were too religious and spiritual to say much either way. But the unanswerable, surprising results of the law he had given to the world could not be denied, and will forever stand to his honor and that of the law. He received more votes than at his previous election.

Now appeared "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in book form. It was a voice of God in behalf of the oppressed. Facts, argument, reason had been employed to the extent of human power, but the cold *heart* of the country needed to be reached as only a woman could do it, and for that she was raised up and inspired. The civilized world has felt its power.

The first Free Soil candidate elected for Congress in Maine was in June 7, 1852. A vacancy was to be filled, and the Democrats nominated Mr. Kimball, a thoroughly pro-slavery man. The Whigs not daring to take a compromise man, and knowing that they had no prospect of success against the Free Soil vote, nominated Isaac Reed of Waldoborough. He was known to be a man of reliable character, and fully in favor of Free Soil principles and objects. The party convention held at Lewiston, having satisfactory evidence of these facts, unanimously nominated him and he was elected by seven hundred and sixty-two majority. Not a few Democrats voted for him.

Strenuous efforts continued to be made to restore the active energy of the cause in Maine. The plan of systematic distribution of tracts, speeches, Uncle Tom's Cabin, etc., was pressed to the utmost. The circulation of the Inquirer was also increased. Rev. Mr. Green, missionary in the Sandwich Islands now spoke a word of cheer. "Friends of the slaves in Maine, sustain our friend and brother in his arduous labors in the cause of God and humanity. I assure you his paper is in excellent repute here in these islands; let it not lack your sympathy and co-operation." His pen did much for the cause, but we had never seen him.

The Whig and Democratic parties held their national conventions in June, and in their platforms took the same position on slavery, entirely conceding to the demands of the slave-holders. Both accepted and indorsed the compromise measures, and pledged special fidelity to the fugitive law. The Whigs nominated General Scott. The Southern Whigs had carefully ascertained that he was all right and when nominated he fully indorsed the platform and the fugitive law. The Democrats nominated Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire. It was deemed wise to select Northern men at that time, but only of the right stamp, and here the slave-holders were vigilant. A more abject servile could not have been found, and he, too, vowed fidelity to the overseers. Daniel Webster had been preparing for this last chance since 1848, and his friends made desperate efforts to secure his nomination. Day after day the struggle went on till over fifty ballotings were held, but he only received a small fraction, chiefly from Massachusetts, and that had to yield. The South, to which he had sacrificed himself, abandoned him, and he received his reward. Here stood our country betrayed, debased, a disgrace to civilization, and the vast majority of the people were about to indorse the apostasy, — the church and the world alike. Was there any hope for such a nation? Only in the resisting force that was growing to power under favor of the Almighty.

In Maine the Whigs nominated for governor Mr. Crosby, who fairly represented the party as it was on slavery, and was far from being a friend of the Maine law. The Democrats nominated Governor Hubbard

for re-election, but with opposition by the liquor interest because he signed the Maine law and presided at a State Temperance Convention. War was rising against that law, and soon demonstrated the delusion of attempting to maintain a great object divisory of both parties, by holding it as non-partisan. Maine soon learned important lessons in such matters.

A Free Soil State Convention met in Winthrop, July 1, 1852, and was called to order by C. A. Stackpole, Chairman of the State Committee. Hon. D. Farnsworth was elected President; J. B. Fillebrown, G. H. Witherlee, Secretaries. Prayer by Rev. Mr. Hanscom. The convention was large, and all parts of the state well represented. It was gratifying to meet again the veterans of holy liberty for counsel, cooperation and inspiration, with unity and unfaltering determination. Committees were appointed, and the convention was addressed on the issues of the cause as it then stood by Willey, Talbot, and Peck. The question of a nomination for governor was then considered. It was evident that Dr. Hubbard was not to receive the united support of his party and probably would be defeated because of his support of the Maine law. This would be a heavy blow upon the law and perhaps kill it, and nothing was to be hoped from the Whig candidate. What was the duty of the Free Soil party? Dr. Hubbard had no claim to its votes on any other ground. It was finally agreed to make a nomination, then leave it with the individual voter to do as he thought it his duty. A vote was accordingly taken, and Hon. Ezekiel Holmes was unanimously

nominated. Vigorous speeches followed till adjournment.

In the evening, prayer by Rev. B. D. Peck; elections were made: Electors at Large, — Samuel Fessenden, Portland; Peter Talbot, East Machias; with delegates at large to the national convention.

The resolutions asserted our well recognized principles and "that we heartily indorse the Maine liquor law and will oppose its repeal; that the necessity and wisdom of a party for liberty is fully proved, and we will stand by it; and we urge activity, complete nominations and organizations throughout the state."

One religious paper in New England maintained that the whole antislavery movement was a mistake and failure because "the Lord's time to remove slavery had not come. We must wait. In his own time he would do it!" The Congregational State Conference the previous year continued its relations with slaveholding bodies so that it could labor with them against slavery, then appointed as delegate to the Presbyterian assembly a defender of slavery from the Bible! This year it consented to listen to Professor Stowe on the subject, but took no action. The Methodist General Conference was silent. Some of the most prominent ministers, especially in sea-coast cities, were bold in defence of the pagan Fugitive Slave law, and the Christian Mirror charged those who aided fugitives with being "thieves" The great body of the Church was about to indorse and ratify the surrender of the country to slavery, the slave-hunting law, emphatically by their ballots; and all this after twenty-five years had been pouring light on

the subject. How was this possible? History can only record the fact. It illustrated the wonderful mercy and forbearance of God, but did not defeat his design to let the oppressed go free. He was raising up a power to take off those chains, and steadily carrying it on to victory most successfully by the very means devised to destroy it. But such appalling misrepresentation and denial of Christian religion was lamentable. Many were made infidels by it, and infidelity uses it to this day, and will in the future.

Henry Clay died June 29, 1852, aged seventy-five. He had lived to see slavery grow from weakness to power, take possession of the government, expand from ocean to ocean, and his last work was to induce the nation now to respond affirmatively to its demands. Probably no man had done more than he for the country's apostasy, for his policy was to conquer by the delusions of compromise, which in moral issues always ends in apostasy.

The positive position of Calhoun was far less pernicious. He could scarcely have failed to perceive before he died that his and Webster's great invention was already a failure. The slave-holders themselves disregarded it. It conceded liberty to California, which had written it in its own constitution, but every possible effort was made to force slaves into it. Many were carried there, and a court decision obtained in favor of it. A law was passed by its legislature permitting it in violation of its own constitution. But as slavery might not hold the whole, strenuous efforts were made to divide it and make one a free, the other a slave state. The acquisition of Cuba for slavery

was also in agitation. Mr. Giddings took early occasion after the nominations of the old parties were made to show up their true positions in a powerful speech in Congress, which was extensively given to the people with great effect.

An immense convention for Liberty was held in Worcester, Massachusetts, early in July. There were five thousand there, and compromise parties were killed in that state by this first blow. In other states the friends of freedom were rousing to action, including Maryland and Kentucky, where large meetings were held and delegates appointed to the Free Soil National Convention.

August 26th the Finance Committee of the Senate moved to amend a civil appropriation bill, and authorize the President to pay any extra costs in executing the laws. This obviously had reference to the fugitive law. Mr. Sumner saw his opportunity. Southern men had introduced the subject, and he moved to except the Fugitive law, and repeal it. As was his right, he proceeded to make an exhaustive speech never exceeded in forensic power and eloquence in the American Congress. Freedom National — Slavery Sectional, was his theme, and a crowded audience listened in silence to the annihilation of the whole structure of the slave power. No wonder they were desperate to silence that voice, which was more terrible than thunder. The Southern press confessed its masterly power. The speech was immensely circulated. We printed many thousand copies, as we did of Messrs. Hale's, Giddings', and others.

The Free Democratic National Convention was

held in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, August 11, 1852. It was immense, far surpassing the highest anticipations. Two great halls were crowded day and evening, beside an immense mass-meeting outside. Twenty-one states were represented. It was earnest, dignified, on a high moral plane, fraternal, enriched by the ablest thought-power in the land, and inspired by its vast responsibility. The eyes of all the friends of Liberty in the land, of whatever party, were turned there as its last hope.

S. Lewis, of Ohio, called to order. Prayer by Rev. Mr. Nevin. After temporary organization, the committee of one from each state on nominations, (J. C. Woodman for Maine,) reported, and Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, was elected President, with a Vice-president from each state, (S. Bathrick, Maine,) and Secretaries. Committee on Platform and address to the people: A. Willey, Maine; G. G. Fogg, New Hampshire; C. F. Adams, Massachusetts; J. R. Hawley, Connecticut; D. B. Harris, Rhode Island; M. M. Davis, Vermont; Gerrit Smith, New York; A. Black, New Jersey; J. M. Pusey, Delaware; J. E. Snodgrass, Maryland; F. J. Lemoyne, Pennsylvania; J. R. Giddings, Ohio; W. S. Elliott, Michigan; J. H. Paine, Wisconsin; S. S. Harding, Indiana; D. S. Hough, Illinois; A. Turner, Iowa; S. M. Bell, Virginia; J. B. Crips, Kentucky. A National Committee was chosen, one from each state, H. Wilson, Chairman; (W. Davis for Maine). Mr. Giddings presented twenty-two platform resolutions, which were amended and unanimously adopted.

In the afternoon of the second day the convention

made its nominations. Judge Spaulding, of Ohio, presented the name of John P. Hale, others mentioned Mr. Adams, Mr. Chase, etc. Each state cast the number of its electoral votes, and J. P. Hale received one hundred and ninety-four, all others sixteen, when the nomination of Mr. Hale was made unanimous, with nine rousing cheers! George W. Julian, of Indiana, was then nominated for Vice-president, with equal cheers. In response to a vote of thanks, the President closed with a brief, eloquent speech. He said: "The great political parties of the country have bowed to the dark spirit of slavery. We are here to utter the living doctrines of the republic. The platform we have adopted embodies the noblest and highest principles of Liberty Many of us will meet no more in this life We have pledged ourselves to our country and the world to be faithful to these principles. If we are true and faithful we shall hasten on the day when this great republic of the western world will stand before the nations free and glorious."

The resolutions asserted the recognized principles of the party, starting with the declaration, and asserting that the federal constitution was formed to maintain its truths; that the reply to all the claims of slavery is — no more slave states — no slave territory — no nationalized slavery — no national legislation for the extradition of slaves; that slavery is a sin against God and crime against man, and that Christianity, humanity, and patriotism alike demand its abolition; that the fugitive law has no binding force and must

be repealed; that the compromise measures in the interest of slavery can never settle the question; that slavery is sectional and freedom national. They affirm that all men have a natural right to a portion of the soil, favor river and harbor improvements, cheap postage, the settlement of international difficulties by arbitration; "that emigrants from the old world should find cordial welcome, and every attempt to abridge their privilege of citizenship should be resisted with inflexible determination." (The wicked anti-Chinese laws show the apostasy of the party from the principles from which it grew.) These are prominent points of as able a platform of exalted statesmanship as was ever offered to the American people. "Righteousness exalteth a nation"; and lifting ours upon this, is lifting it from its abyss of shame and ruin. That convention was more nearly the pivot on which our destiny turned than any other in its redemptive history. Maine had ten delegates there, which were more than any other New England state except Massachusetts. They were J. C. Woodman, A. Willey, O. B. Cheney, J. Q. Day, R. G. Lincoln, A. F. Holt, C. H. DeWolf, G. Tappan, S. Bathrick. We were in correspondence with the leading men of the cause in other states, and it was a precious privilege to make acquaintance more extensively personal.

Congressional and county conventions were held throughout Maine, and nominations made for all offices. For governor, Ezekiel Holmes; representatives to Congress, Samuel Fessenden, Nathaniel Pease, Seth May, J. O. L. Foster, Stephen C. Foster. A large secession from the Democratic party occurred,

especially on the support of Dr. Hubbard for governor, because of his support of the Maine law. They were called "wild-cats," and nominated for governor, Anson G. Chandler. The determination was to defeat Hubbard. This would be a disaster to that cause. This brought it into issue on this as well as legislative elections, and it became a leading question in the state elections. The liquor interest soon dissipated the theory of holding that reform as non-partisan. The temperance people held a large state convention, and made vigorous efforts to save the law and elect Dr. Hubbard. In these circumstances a large part of Free Soil men, all of whom were Maine law men, felt it their duty to cast their votes for Hubbard. It was hard for them to do it, but that law *must* be saved; and those who adhered to their own candidate, Dr. Holmes, generously assented and thus preserved the harmony of the party. Many temperance Whigs voted for Hubbard, and the vote stood — Hubbard, forty-one thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine; Crosby, twenty-nine thousand one hundred and twenty-seven; Chandler, twenty-one thousand one hundred and seventy-four; Holmes, sixteen hundred and seventeen; scattering, one hundred and eighty-three. There was no election, and it must go to the legislature. The House sent two of the four highest candidates, Hubbard, and Crosby, to the senate, where the vote stood: Hubbard, fourteen; Crosby, eighteen; liquor Democrats enough going over to elect him. This was severe disappointment to all friends of the law, but it had a lesson worth more than the loss, which was the folly of relying on parties to maintain objects on which they are fundamentally divided.

And now, all turned to the presidential election in November. The ticket was, John P. Hale, President; George W. Julian, Vice-president; Samuel Fessenden, Peter Talbot, Electors at Large; Charles Trafton, Abraham A. Barker, Theophilus Cushing, D. Farnsworth, Ozias Blanchard, Jonathan H. Ilsley, District Electors. The state commitee issued an address to the people, and every possible effort was made to enlighten them, secure organization, and bring every free voter to the polls. The slave parties were both alike bound to the tyrant power, and had nothing in issue but each other's alleged corruption. They dared not deny the truth of a single principle of the Free Soil party, and it was a little too ludicrous to renew their Free Soil professions of 1848. Nothing was left but delusion, deception, party prejudice, detraction, and the demand, insulting to every citizen, to vote for "the least of two evils," with the charge of "electing the worst candidate," etc., without end. But free men scorned it all, and voted for justice, right, liberty, as God commanded, and there lay the victory.

In other states the revolution was rolling on with augmenting power. The Whig party, with the Fillmore administration and compromises on its back, was little more than a shaking skeleton, abhorred by much of its own membership. In Massachusetts it was essentially destroyed already. In Vermont its majority was lost. Free Soilers cast near ten thousand votes, and had forty representatives. In Ohio Mr. Giddings was re-elected to Congress by fourteen hundred majority.

October 24, 1852, an event occurred which sur-

prised the whole country, as its bells tolled the death of Daniel Webster! It was known that he was depressed from the hour when intelligence reached him of the treatment he received in the Whig National Convention, after all he had done to secure support, but especially his entire abandonment by the South to which he had sacrificed all! So quickly he followed his confederate Henry Clay to his account. It was necessary that they should pass away and give place to a new class of statesmen, whom God was mercifully bringing to the front for the salvation of the country.

The Democratic party in Massachusetts adhered to its Free Soil until the pressure of the presidential election forced their apostasy; but a large number went over to the Free Democracy. In New York the apostasy was the same. When in 1848 the Liberty party entered into alliance with that movement and supported Van Buren, it was not expected that it would all stand reliably; but as it took our principles we were safe, and should hold a part and do much to bring our cause into the public mind. But now came the sifting, and the Van Burens with a large portion of their party deserted, went over to the compromise platform, and John Van Buren did not blush to go about the country where he had previously so ably advocated liberty, and make speeches for Pierce and slavery. But the cause of Liberty was only the stronger by such loss. Its presses were fast multiplying, and the only inspiration of the campaign was for Hale, Julian, and Liberty. There was really but one thing in issue that year, and one more debasing

never shamed civilization: Shall the accursed system of slavery be adopted as a national institution in known violation of the constitution, to be protected and perpetuated by its vigilance, and every citizen held on guard as a slave-hunter, woman-whipper, and baby-stealer? Every man voting for either of the old parties said yes! The great body of the Christian Church, right from the communion table, said yes! Aside from avarice and ambition in office-seekers, the great power which led to this paganism was party prejudice. This has been the force which has led to nearly all our public debasement, and unless some change in our politics back of the ballot-box is made, republican government is to prove a failure. The voter is on the jury of his country; but what would become of civil justice were the jury as prejudiced as partisans? Here, our nation is sinking.

We had published within the year seventy thousand copies of speeches, etc., in tract form, and nearly all were sold.

During the last year so much attention of anti-slavery people had been given to the Maine law with the divisory action at our state elections, that it was not to be expected our former energy would be fully restored and our vote be what it would have been in other circumstances. Hostile efforts were desperate. The vote stood at eight thousand and thirty. The vote in September for members of Congress was:

Fessenden	1,358	Pease	803	Foster	592
May	1,580	Waterhouse	3,440	S. C. Foster	3,280
				Total	11,053

The national vote was :

Maine	8,030	N. Hampshire	6,707	Vermont	8,621
Massachusetts	28,023	Rhode Island	624	Connecticut	3,160
New York	25,329	Pennsylvania	8,860	New Jersey	259
Delaware	62	Maryland	64	Virginia	60
N. Carolina	59	Kentucky	66	Ohio	31,782
Indiana	6,934	Illinois	10,000	Michigan	3,681
Wisconsin	8,444	Iowa	1,603	California	200

In 1840, 6,700; 1844, 64,653; 1852, 156,000.

Here was the work of a dozen years, what had we gained? Had we "thrown away" our votes? A new political system had been organized on a solid moral and constitutional basis, and one hundred and fifty-six thousand voting citizens enlisted and trained for the practical overthrow of the bloody slave power. In doing this, society had been permeated with truth and a public sentiment created to a large extent against slavery and really in favor of our position. The final great invention of slave-holders and their allies to break down this rising power was defeated, and turned with immense and fatal effect against what it was designed to protect. The political parties had adopted the scheme and been killed by it — the one first defeated to go first, the other inevitably to follow. The Whig party being defeated was now to go to dissolution. It was dead, as Daniel Webster with almost his last breath said it would be. The pivotal period was passed, and the success of this new antislavery power was already assured. Its opponents admitted it. Here the cause stood at the closing of the polls, November 2, 1852. The slave power *must fall*, its agonizing millions be liberated and lifted up to humanity, and our country rescued. To intelli-

gent vision this was now a moral certainty, a Providential design.

Were the ballots which had done this "thrown away"? Were we "fools," "fanatics," "extremists," "bigots," men of "one idea," "villains," (Argus,) "Jacobins, Nihilists"? (A. A. Phelps.) Suppose we had done as opponents, and thousands who approved of our principles but resisted our policy, insisted, and dabbled with old party professions with the chains of slavery upon their necks, because we "could n't elect," "voting for the worst candidate," "half a loaf," "crumbs better than nothing," etc., etc., where would have been the cause at this period? There would have been none! It would have ended, as all preceding struggles with slavery had, in surrender and victory to tyranny. But persistently adhering to the law of the Bible and the example of its author in the treatment of sin — "Get behind me, Satan!" — to-day he was seen "falling like lightning from Heaven!"

Not an intelligent reader of history will ever question these facts. But the odium, the toil, the sacrifice, the mental suffering, the hate, which all this cost, especially those at the front of the conflict, never will be known on earth, nor the disparagement be lifted off while they live. No grander, no sublimer object, more patriotic, more humane and Christian, can be found in America, if in the world's history. The graves and the memory of its heroes will be honored in future generations.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION. STATE CONVENTION. THE CAUSE RE-INVIGORATED. ALBANY CONVENTION. CONGRESS. THE MESSAGE. MAINE LAW. NATIONAL BARBARISM. HONOR TO MR. HALE. WESTERN TRIP. APPEAL FROM ENGLAND. ACTION IN MAINE. THE OLD FOURTH. PORTLAND FESTIVAL. TEMPERANCE CONVENTION. LIBERTY AND TEMPERANCE. RELIGIOUS ACTION. OLD PARTIES. STATE ELECTIONS.

ALTHOUGH the new year, 1853, opened with the assurance of victory to Liberty, it was not yet. The slave power was only made more reckless, more outrageous in its demands, to fortify itself against impending danger. They had searched, found, and elected as President, as faithful a tool as could be found in the land, and his administration only showed that the nation was sinking each year, officially, into darker night. He had been elected by all but four states, and for the supreme purpose of protecting slavery as a national institution, "the Church, its bulwark," and for this he awaited the oath of office. There we stood before God and mankind "a glorious, free, and Christian nation!"

But the friends of freedom saw the morning star, and entered again the field of conflict. The Democratic party had a large majority at the polls, and in both houses of the Maine legislature, but they were divided especially on the Maine law, which resulted in the election of a Whig governor.

On the tenth of February, 1853, a State Free Democratic Convention met at Augusta. A thaw had swept the snow from the state. Some started with sleighs, then took wheels, then heels, sometimes twenty miles. But nearly every county was represented, and the largest hall filled. Had the snow remained it was believed it would have been the largest and most enthusiastic assembly for liberty ever seen in the state. Hon. Henry Wilson of Massachusetts attended, and enriched and inspired the convention. The differences of the past year were all forgotten, and entire unity restored.

Hon. Franklin Muzzy was chosen President, General Appleton, S. May, Vice-presidents. The necessary committees were chosen who reported. Hon. Ezekiel Holmes was nominated for governor by acclamation. A "Maine Liberty League" was organized, the object of which was to promote organization, and raise funds by membership to sustain lecturers and circulate reading matter. It was to be composed of delegates of town leagues with a membership fee of not less than twenty-five cents. General Appleton was chosen President; J. Q. Day, Secretary; C. A. Stackpole, Treasurer; with a Board of Directors. This meant business even more effectual than the association which died in 1850.

The resolutions re-adopted the national platform, declared that slavery was slowly but surely destroying the spirit of liberty and moral integrity of the republic; that the Free Democracy was the only effectual stay to this fatal moral corruption, and demanded every energy of freemen; that slavery was the pivot

of the late presidential election, and its result was not a triumph of Democracy but of unholy, relentless despotism; that the Whig party waded in still deeper contempt from having sacrificed all their professions of liberty for place and power as tools of party tyrants; that the broad principle, separating the Free Democracy from other parties, is that liberty, not slavery, is national; that the Liberty league should receive immediate attention and an alliance be formed in every town; that the Free Democracy fully indorses the Maine law.

These were discussed by Fessenden, Willey, Woodman, May, Cone, Davis, and adopted. Another was passed unanimously and generously in favor of the Inquirer and "the ability and integrity of its editor." The evening was chiefly occupied in listening to a grand address by Mr. Wilson. We read a letter from Hon. J. R. Giddings expressing gratification at our action in Maine. "Our cause," he said, "is advancing with more rapidity than at any former period. The Whigs must of necessity disband. The Democrats must now take an unequivocal stand for freedom or against it. Where are those lower law divines who two years since were so active in preaching up the sanctity of the infamous fugitive law? If our friends press forward with unflinching purpose, you and I may live to see our country redeemed."

The great cause never entered on a year with more courage and hope. Conventions were speedily called in nearly all the counties and in many towns all over the state, and well attended. The people were never so ready to obtain true information. Party chains

were weakening as they learned the deception by which they had been led. No agent being in the field, I obtained some office assistance and spent nearly two months among the people, attending conventions and other meetings — ten, twelve, fourteen, in a week. The ministers in the interior of the state I found nearly all ready to co-operate in the cause. The organization of leagues in all the towns was approved and going on. The people were learning how they had been deceived and misled. Meetings were generally crowded. But worn and weary, I must go home and rest. The circulation of the paper was increasing; but the great obstacle to the cause in Maine all through its history was the inadequate patronage of its papers. The paper at Bangor had been given up, and the Inquirer, when I returned to the state, was in a sad condition. It was believed that not one half so many antislavery papers were taken in Maine in proportion to its Liberty votes, including those published out of the state, as were taken in most other states; and not one-fourth, as in many. But for this defect the state would have been redeemed in much less time.

A general Congregational Convention was held in Albany, New York, of much importance. It was large and able, and its leading object was to counteract the extensive opposition in that denomination to the antislavery reform, and secure the exclusion of slavery from all its missionary institutions, and slaveholders from all forms of religious fellowship. If this was not done they would be compelled to give their support elsewhere. This met opposition, but had a

good influence. That denomination has no claim to credit above others for fidelity to liberty in this conflict, especially as it had no ecclesiastical connection with slavery.

At the opening of Congress in December, 1852, an effort was made covertly to exclude all Free Soil members from committees. They did not belong to "healthy political organizations," and such treatment would increase their disparagement. But defying the trick, Messrs. Hale, Chase, and Sumner, so exposed its meanness and violation of rights that it failed. Mr. Pierce's inauguration took place on the fourth of March, and his message so unequivocally committed him, his administration, and party, to slavery, as "recognized by the Constitution, like any other admitted rights," as to leave no chance for further double-dealing by that party. There it stood, shoulder to shoulder, in line with the slave power under a common flag — "slavery constitutional like any other right"! This was essentially, the platform of both parties; and had the Whigs succeeded, their slave-masters would have compelled equal subjection. The line was now drawn — liberty or slavery — and the "fence" was gone. That was a priceless gain — "cold or hot." Developments soon revealed the atrocious designs of this "*Democracy*"!

But slavery was not the only inhuman despotism that held the people in bondage by political partyism. The liquor power had its chains about their necks. At the municipal election of the preceding year in Portland, Neal Dow was defeated for mayor, and a man chosen through whose administration the Maine

law had little efficiency; and this year the result was the same, for neither of the old elements dared to take a positive man. The Free Democrats voted for General Fessenden, and they only. But for subsequent events that law would have been finally destroyed. Mr. Dow's vigorous administration of eight months in Portland with other demonstrations of its value in the state, had been felt around the world. A discovery of a remedy for a woe of the whole earth had at last been made. Nearly every state in the Union rushed for its enactment, and efforts for it were begun in the Pacific islands, in China, and many parts of Europe. But the great reform did not "count the cost" and prepare for it as did the reform against slavery, and history shows the results. Laws passed in a dozen states perished under political partyism.

The horrible fugitive law was constantly producing its results, showing the people what they were voting for, and Doctors of Divinity what they were defending. In Trenton, New Jersey, a colored man was seized who had lived there twenty-seven years, had a worthy family, and by industry was worth two thousand dollars. While the licensed scoundrels were getting a legal warrant he started for Canada and got there; but the feeble wife and mother soon broke down and died under the weight of the affliction, and there were the orphans.

A young man and woman married and had one little child, when they resolved on the desperate attempt to get their liberty. They started from Virginia but were soon discovered by two pursuers who called on them to stop. But they separated, ran, the wife

with the child on her back seeking refuge in a cornfield, when the child was shot and killed, and she fell helpless. Her husband ran to her aid, when she rallied, and they maintained the fight so successfully as to break down one of the pursuers, and the other fled. There they left the dead babe, and reached Canada.

The senatorial term of John P. Hale was about closing, and a splendid festival was held in his honor in Boston, in May, 1853. Guests were invited from other states. On the platform with the chief were John Jay, of New York, Horace Mann, Henry Wilson, Charles Sumner, Dr. S. G. Howe, C. F. Adams, C. M. Clay, R. H. Dana jr., S. E. Sewall, T. H. Higginson, Ralph W. Emerson, Joshua Leavitt, and many others. John G. Palfrey was President, and Rev. A. L. Stone offered prayer. As a complimentary dinner it would be hard to find its equal in moral and intellectual worth. At the table were fifteen hundred men and women! After a neat introductory by the President the first toast was read with reference to "Our Guest — John P. Hale." Music, "Hail Columbia." Mr. Hale was received with prolonged cheers and applause. He most gratefully acknowledged the honor shown him, and made a speech rich in intelligence, powerful in eloquence, and ornamented with his rare wit. He was followed by Mr. Sumner in one of his finest productions; also by Mr. Clay, Judge Jay, Mr. Mann, and others. A richer intellectual feast we had never enjoyed, and one more inspiring for the great cause. It was *not "dead"!* This honor was especially due to Mr. Hale because his state had not stood by

him, but was now in the support of Pierce and slavery.

No man in American history had done his country a more heroic service. He was Providentially raised up and stationed to meet a desperate emergency, and when was the verdict "faithful" ever more deserved. There he stood during part of his term, alone at the center of the relentless national despotism, threatened, insulted, and his state giving him no support, yet he dared every foe and held there the flag of Liberty undaunted during the great crisis. His genial nature and power of self-control saved him. His work was not done but he had earned the highest honors of his imperilled country.

From Boston I went to New York and attended the anniversaries. Heard Father Givazzi against Popery, using the same arguments as against slavery but applauded by ministers in one case and denounced in the other. From there I had a favorable opportunity to go to Chicago for the first time, and attended an Illinois Free Soil Convention at Ottawa. It was favorable to health, made new acquaintances, renewed old ones, and brought me into still closer fraternity with the cause in the West. Here I made the personal acquaintance of Mr. Z. Eastman, editor of the Western Citizen of Chicago, who did the cause great service from the beginning to its close. He aided combinations which secured the nomination of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency. There Owen Lovejoy, a former classmate, was running for Congress and was soon elected. It was a trip of interest and benefit. The Congregational Herald, a new religious antislavery paper had just been established in Chicago.

A powerful "Address from the Democrats of England to the Democrats of the United States," was now sent over signed by eighteen hundred and fifty-eight names. They said, "True Democrats of America despise as traitors all who would betray sacred Liberty for wealth. Believe in your high mission to promote the world's progress, and purify yourselves for that glorious service by verifying in every part of your Union the words of your own manifesto, 'All men are created equal.'"

Gaillardet, one of the ablest French writers, said of Pierce's message, "He declares himself on slavery with an energy which has drawn shouts from the royalists, and sighs from our republicans." Another circumstance shows how the subject was viewed by the Christian world. Dr. I. S. Prime, editor of the New York Observer, was appointed a delegate to the British and Foreign Bible Society. The English press heard of it and protested against receiving "this most systematic and virulent of all the calumniators of American abolitionists, a vehement defender of slavery and slanderer of Mrs. Stowe, to a British platform or pulpit." This so represented public sentiment that Mr. Prime sent in his credentials, but never appeared himself.

Mrs. Stowe published a "Key" to her "Uncle Tom's Cabin," proving by terrible, unanswerable testimony the truth of her representations of slavery, which had great circulation and power. This aroused severer attacks by the religious and political pro-slavery class of the country. It feared its effects. William Goodell also added a work to antislavery lit-

erature entitled "The Democracy of Christianity," which ought to have a place in theology and religious literature in all time.

The cause in this state was recovering its vigor. Several ex-slaves of attainments and ability spent some time there with excellent effects. Rev. I. W. Lognen was an able and accomplished man, and spent months in the state giving the people the testimony of his own experience. More meetings were held and with larger attendance and more resolute than in any preceding summer. Aroostook County held a good convention and came into line as never before. The worthy Winslow Hall was nominated for senator and money was raised to disseminate our principles among the electors of the county. It indorsed the national platform ; declared it would support no man for office who did not represent their principles, and pledged itself to the Maine law. J. B. Hall, E. A. Low, E. M. Wiggin, committee. Light was reaching that distant region.

Local organization was extensively adopted in the form of town leagues. In Franklin County every town had its league. Some appointed a chairman of a committee in every town. The circulation of the Inquirer increased, and the demand for the great speeches of Sumner, Hale, Giddings, and others, increased. The fourth of July, 1853, was used extensively in all parts of the state for meetings of some form in behalf of Liberty, as it ever should be, thus keeping successive generations intelligent on the principles and obligations of Liberty.

By invitation I attended a celebration of the

Fourth at East New Portland — back in the country where the people live. It was a glorious time. "Freedom and Temperance" were the themes and inspiration of the day, one and inseparable. Some two thousand left their fields. A long procession with banners flying, borne by clubs and societies of men, women, and children, with bands of music, led away to a beautiful grove. There the ladies presented a fine banner to the "Cascade Club No. 205," accompanied by an admirable address by Mrs. Caroline A. Elder, which was responded to by Warren Hutchins. The picnic dinner by the ladies was — what history cannot describe. Then came songs, toasts, speeches. Clubs were there from North Anson, Solon, Skowhegan, Lexington, New Portland, New Vineyard, and brass band from Kingfield. There was the place for uplifting reform. Cheered on by such occasions, what were reproach and hostility while toiling for sublime and Christian ends! There were many other similar occasions and the old Fourth rang over the state.

A splendid "Free Democratic Festival" was given by the Portland Liberty Club, July 1, in Lancaster Hall, for the promotion of the cause. The ladies had done their part admirably. Invited guests were Hon. Horace Mann of Massachusetts, Mr. Swift and Mr. Burt of Harvard Law School, G. F. Talbot, Rev. D. Thurston, and others. General Fessenden presided. Toasts were responded to by Ellis of Massachusetts, Aspenwall of Vermont, Lognen, Willey, Talbot, Woodman, but the main speech was by Mr. Mann. It was of the highest model in intelligence, argument, and eloquence, and highly applauded.

A large State Temperance Convention was held in Portland July 7, Hon. J. J. Perry president. The danger was that the elections would be so controlled by the liquor power as to result in the repeal of the law. It was resolved "that the Maine law is a recognition of moral truth, and an embodiment of political wisdom," that another year had increased their confidence in its necessity and value, and "no candidate for office not a true and reliable supporter of the law shall have our support at the polls." For the campaign sixteen hundred dollars were raised. The committee were instructed to question candidates, and another convention was agreed on to be held in Bangor. A state committee was chosen.

The Free Democracy in its state and county conventions, by its press, and earnest work by its membership, fully indorsed the Maine law. But the experience of the last year, with further thought, had satisfied all that it was a mistake to abandon our own candidates, principles, and cause, for that law, and that the best interests of each would be promoted by binding both together as a basis for the future. This was the united opinion this year with corresponding action. History fully justifies what we wrote at the time: "This party is the sheet anchor of the law, and ever has been. It would have perished at its birth had not this party seized it, and thus alarmed the politicians by the capital it would make out of it if resisted. And this party now is the most dreaded obstacle to the rum power in the state. It secured the election of Mr. Dow as mayor of Portland, and the vast consequences to mankind which grew out of

it. This solid phalanx of ten thousand law men in the state, standing above the reach of its enemies, is its body-guard. Here only can be a consolidation of the temperance power of the state. Neither of the old parties is or can be a true law party, and to throw temperance capital into them is 'to put it into bags with holes.' So it has been in this city, so in the state." The old party state conventions were silent on the subject; the Whig candidate for governor was on all sides alike, and the Democratic candidate was the liquor choice for repeal. Here the cause stood and was vigorously contested that year.

The Methodist Maine Conference took excellent positions this year and resolved "that slavery is not of God, but is of the kingdom of Satan," and can "never harmonize with God's kingdom"; that it obscures Christianity, retards civilization, and delays the reign of Christ on earth; that they would "consecrate their utmost efforts to sever this immense evil from the Church of Christ and the body politic," and make it a subject of "Christian discipline," and will hold this as "a part of our religion till the termination of slavery or of our own lives."

The Congregational Conference was still silent, their "brotherly love" being apparently so intense that they dared not "open their mouths for the dumb" lest they should disturb it, and so "passed by on the other side." The Freewill Baptists firmly held their position of Christian integrity in the great contest whether Christ or Satan should reign. The Baptist State Convention listened to the appeal of a colored man for help to raise one hundred and twenty-five

dollars to buy the liberty of his last child, a little girl of ten years. He had bought his wife and four children already. The convention at once contributed ninety-six dollars and passed these resolutions: "That the Fugitive Slave law deserves and receives our hearty condemnation; that the Maine Liquor law deserves and receives our hearty support."

The political position of society in Maine and out of it in 1853 was appalling. The country was sinking continually under Whig and Democratic administrations alike. This caused a change of parties at each presidential election for twenty years. The audacious slave power was constantly augmenting its strength and increasing its demands, and to these office-seeking leaders through party tenacity had seduced and dragged the North into abject submission, and slavery was exalted as the supreme object and end of our Constitution and government! This victory was formally completed by the compromise of 1850, and ratified by both political parties. State parties must indorse their national creed or prove traitors. So the President declared fidelity to slavery, "as recognized by the Constitution like any other admitted right!" The parties in Maine re-asserted these principles and now called on the people for their indorsement. The infamy, the falsehood, the apostasy, and guilt of all this condition of our states and nation will ever be the amazement of history, viewed in connection with our origin. Were we not lost? With the three and one half millions of pleading victims lying before the friends of liberty, and their country dying, what nobler object ever inspired human energy than the

redemption of our country, and the liberty of its oppressed!

But the dissolution of the old political parties was going on in all free states under the power of truth which was reaching the people in spite of utmost endeavors to delude and deceive. In Maine a strong portion of the best elements in the Democratic party refused to accept the nomination of Mr. Pillsbury, made in the interest of liquor and against the Maine law, and a mass convention was called in Portland early in August to present another candidate. It was large, able, and determined. The city hall was crowded, five hundred coming from Oxford County with brass bands. A long procession marched through the streets. It adopted the National Democratic platform, indorsed the Maine law, and nominated Anson P. Morrill for governor. He was a man of sound character and ability, and a decided Maine law man. They took the field, but no unbelievers in national slavery could vote for him. It was very annoying to the Democratic party for the antislavery party to adopt the name "Free Democracy," and bring out the principles of true democracy in contrast with the ridiculous sham called democracy. The Whigs had nothing better to show except by deceptive pretensions which were zealously employed, for they, too, had unequivocally adopted the Compromise basis, and their candidate, Mr. Crosby, was a positive Webster man.

The state election occurred September 12, and the Free Democratic ticket for state and county offices was complete. The vote stood: Holmes, nine thou-

sand; Morrill, eleven thousand and twenty-seven; Crosby, twenty-seven thousand and sixty-one; Pillsbury, thirty-six thousand eight hundred and eighty-six. The Free Democracy had in the Senate, W. H. Vinton, Franklin Muzzy, two; in the House, T. Cushing, H. K. Baker, J. Hancock, L. Trott, W. Hayden, E. Hackett, J. Patten, I. Whipple, C. Parker, L. Bisbee, B. Tobin, J. Williams, W. M. Gilvery, thirteen. In a large number of districts elections for both Houses were defeated, but the relative strength of freedom steadily increased. The votes of both the old parties fell off heavily but the Free Democracy decidedly gained and demonstrated its reliable, growing power, even against severe difficulties.

The party and its press decidedly indorsed the Maine law, and perhaps three-fourths of the working force which had given it existence was in its membership. It had much if not decisive influence in its enactment, for if longer denied it would turn dangerous strength to that party. But the war for its repeal raised a difficult question. Shall it suspend its great issue of liberty for that law? We foresaw that these two great moral upheavals for justice, humanity, and public welfare, if fraternally maintained, would ultimately concentrate by force of centripetal attraction, and thus bring victory to both. Neither of the old parties could pledge itself to either and live. Both elements were fast working their decomposition and if we held our ground early reconstruction upon it was a moral certainty, and that would sweep the state and lift it up to a plane of moral glory unequalled in civil history. And more than all, God's law

demanded both of the objects in issue by the ballot, and that settled it. "Freedom and Temperance" became our flag heraldry in the state. The women were recovering the inspiration of former years, and forming societies, with this motto, widely in the state. The reader will hear from them hereafter.

The policy agreed on with remarkable unanimity was to vote for our own candidate for governor as a unit, then unite in the support of sound Maine law men of other parties if they were favorable to Free Soil principles, and would support a fair share of our candidates. The progress of events would soon render this method unnecessary, but it met the existing emergency, secured the respect of liberal men in other parties, and kept the door open for generous union.

CHAPTER XXIX.

POLITICAL CONDITION. WORK IN MAINE. DAUGHTERS OF FREEDOM. CONGRESS. NEBRASKA. MISSOURI COMPROMISE ASSAILED. WILLIAM PITT FESSENDEN. BILL PASSED. CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY. LESSONS. LIBERTY REVIVED. REPUBLICAN PARTY. "KNOW-NOTHING" PARTY. SLAVE HUNTING. WISCONSIN DECISION. JUDICIAL SERVILITY.

DR. C. G. Parsons of Windham, an excellent, earnest antislavery man of ability, had spent several months in the South for health and a careful study of slavery, and on his return took the field as a lecturer, with excellent success, instructing the people. Rev. Mr. Marshall, a cultivated colored man, and under bonds on the charge of aiding fugitives, still labored in the state very usefully. I had been invited to Chicago for editorial labor in behalf of freedom, and having western attraction I nearly resolved to go. Also received a call to Wisconsin in the same service; but weighing the whole matter, I concluded to fight it out in Maine. As I then wrote: "No state at this moment presents a more promising field than Maine, if activity and prudence guide affairs. Beside, we claim to have more warm, personal friends here than any other man, with whom we love to labor. Providence indicates that at present our work is here, and we shall continue it with still greater zeal."

In other states the ice was breaking up as by a spring freshet. In Ohio, the Free Democratic vote

for governor was fifty thousand, and the Whig party gone. In New York the servile parties were dissolving, and the hosts of Liberty were pressing in with great vigor. Gerrit Smith had been elected representative to Congress. The Democratic-Pierce party were divided, giving the state to the Whigs, and they re-elected Mr. Seward to the Senate. Vote for Free Democracy sixty thousand. New Hampshire added fifteen hundred to the vote of the preceding year, and was unusually active. The Pierce woman-whipping Democracy was not paralyzing its own state. Massachusetts Free Soil vote sixty thousand.

The Maine law had come into prominence together with freedom in nearly all the free states; and this contributed to the division of the old parties, overwhelming moral gravitation tending onward union of liquor and slavery, and of temperance and liberty.

The compromise measures had ruined those parties and immensely promoted what they hoped to destroy. The Whig party was dwindling, only a minority adhering to the Clay-Webster basis, and the rest were nowhere. The Pierce administration was failing to hold its party, and dissatisfaction and dissolution were in process. The slave power had forced its servile parties to surrender the constitutional liberties of our country; but a party was in the field to take in charge the "Ark of the Covenant" and restore it to its place. It was a noble trust!

The year was soon to close, and also Volume XV. of the antislavery paper of the state. The winter, with its long evenings, was the time to work for the cause, and every effort was made to begin early and

exceed any other in informing and enlisting a deceived people in behalf of their imperiled country and its suffering victims. I was to begin the year with the Inquirer on my own hands alone, and made a special call for new subscribers, which was well responded to, for all saw that the cause had power just in proportion to the circulation of its press.

Another measure of priceless value was by the women and girls. With them ever come heart and inspiration. The recuperation of the cause brought them again to its aid with increased effect. Their organizations, in the towns and cities, of "Daughters of Freedom," were fast extending over the state, with a large membership, for scarcely could a woman of intelligence be found whose heart was not with us. Their special work was the diffusion of antislavery literature among all the people; and, not less effective, to follow that with their personal and organic appeals to all to enlist in behalf of the slave and of Liberty, especially to men to give the cause their ballots. These societies had already been organized in New Vineyard, Lexington, Peru, New Portland, East Wilton, Weld, Phillips, Flagstaff, Jackson, Dead River, Rangeley, East Embden, Temple, Carthage. The membership of some was sixty. A general mass meeting of these societies was held in New Portland, January 18 and 19, with inspiring effect. This example of the ladies was followed by the men, especially young men, with organizations called "Sons of Freedom," which also joined in the general meeting. One object of the Daughters was to put a copy of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and its "Key," in every fam-

ily. With such work as this in vigorous progress among the people, no prophet was needed to foretell the future. No year in the history of the cause opened with better promise than 1854. Activity, unity, hopefulness, were its characteristics, and opposition had to a large extent exchanged to fairer treatment. The correctness of our principles was rarely questioned, and candid conviction was steadily gaining strength that they were not only right, but must be adopted.

Congress met, and the Message with glowing rhetoric re-affirmed its fidelity to the Compromises, and slavery "like any other admitted right." At the same time his own organ at Washington was repudiating the Compromises as a failure, and no longer the creed of the party. Instead of putting down agitation they had increased it, and were destroying the party. The slave-holders introduced measures which opened the whole subject. One was to pay for the Amisted captives who had been liberated years before by the Supreme Court. Against this Mr. Giddings made a strong speech, which stirred up the whole question. Gerrit Smith made a powerful and eloquent speech on slavery while the Message was in consideration which had introduced it. The question was opened again on the motion for organizing Nebraska as a territory. These and other issues brought back the whole subject into fierce and protracted debate, and the country rocked again.

On the fourth of January, 1854, the Committee on Territories reported on the Nebraska bill, and claimed that the compromises of 1850 repudiated all restric-

tion of slavery in territories by Congress, and questioned the validity of the Missouri Compromise of 1820. The position was true that territorial liberty was abandoned by the Act of 1850, and the whole country, except the Free Soil party, had been deluded, and by party chains dragged down to the indorsement of this treason. But that the old Missouri Compromise was in danger was discredited until Dixon, a Whig of Kentucky, gave notice of an amendment for its formal repeal so far as it related to slavery, and that "all citizens shall be at liberty to take and hold their slaves in all territories or states formed from them." This was an earthquake to the country. Mr. Sumner at once introduced an amendment providing that nothing in the bill should be construed as affecting the Act of 1820. Mr. Douglass reported the bill providing for the division of the territory into Nebraska and Kansas; that the question of slavery should be left to the people of the territories, and that the Act of 1820 was suspended by that of 1850, "and is hereby declared inoperative and void."

The "Independent Democrats in Congress" hastened to issue an appeal to the people of the United States, signed by S. P. Chase, Charles Sumner, of the Senate, and J. R. Giddings and Edward Wade of Ohio, Gerrit Smith of New York, and A. DeWitt of Massachusetts, of the House. It powerfully arraigned the whole plot, exposed its enormity as a part of the great design to break down all barriers to slavery and give its immense territorial regions to despotism, including what had long been consecrated to liberty;

warned of the perils of the country, and solemnly pledged every power they possessed for its defeat; but if unsuccessful "we will not submit, we will not despair, for the cause of freedom is the cause of God."

On the thirtieth the bill was taken up and Mr. Chase moved to strike out the clause repealing the Compromise of 1820 and made an able and exhaustive speech. February 6, Mr. Wade followed with a vigorous argument, and on the eighth Mr. Everett of Massachusetts and Mr. Smith of Connecticut, when Mr. Chase's amendment was defeated. Mr. Badger of North Carolina supported the repeal, and Mr. Seward opposed it. On the twenty-fourth Mr. Sumner made his great speech against the removal of the "Landmarks of Freedom," the violation of the public faith and a departure from the principles of the fathers.

In the midst of this conflict William Pitt Fessenden, of Maine, entered the Senate and hastened to be heard for his state, which was otherwise speechless in that body. In the preceding legislature he lacked but four votes of an election because of division in the Democratic party and voting was given up lest he should be elected. But that division was still wider in 1854, and the Free Democratic vote had increased sufficiently to decide the issue and he was elected. Mr. Fessenden was an able lawyer of sound and reliable character, and fully committed to the principles of liberty. With satisfactory knowledge of this fact he received the Free vote in the legislature and was elected by it, and faithfully fulfilled his obligations. He hastened to Washington

and boldly rushed into the fight with the slave power and was faithful to liberty while he lived. He was an able statesman, and gave the Free Soil party the credit of his election.

A bill was reported for the organization of Kansas and Nebraska as territories, with an amendment to leave the question of slavery to the people and the debate went on. The appeal of the Free Democrats called especially on all ministers to oppose the repeal of the Compromise of 1820, which they did, sending three thousand petitions from New England. Slaveholders said that the South never would submit to exclusion from territories. Israel Washburn of Maine told Southern Whigs that if they supported the repeal, "all that remained for Northern Whigs was to bid them a long good-night." Not till the latter part of May was the great debate brought to a close in the House, when the bill passed, by thirteen majority, and went to the Senate. Mr. Bell of Tennessee opposed the bill because it would divide and annihilate the Whig party. Mr. Seward said that, pass the bill and to-morrow's sun will rise in dim eclipse over all our unorganized regions of the continent; but one thing would be gained, "the shifting sands of compromise will have passed forever from under our feet." Mr. Mason of Georgia supported the bill because, "it is a death-blow to abolition." Mr. Sumner said, "While this is to be a present victory to slavery, it prepares the way for that *All hail* hereafter, when slavery will disappear!" After four months' debate and intense national excitement the bill passed — thirty-five to thirteen in the Senate. Great shouting and firing of cannon followed at Washington.

Here was our country under the gaze of Heaven and the civilized world! With the vast majority of its population in the free states, with their wealth, intelligence, religion, institutions; with a government for the protection of God-given liberty, and a quarter of a century spent in utmost endeavors to enlighten the people on their moral and civil rights and Christian duties to liberty — here the apostate nation lies in abject bondage, robbed, intimidated, conquered, by "the sum of all villainies," liberty driven from its consecrated domain and the vilest tyranny exalted to supremacy in the government. History has no parallel to this. Here were "first-fruits" of persistent apathy and hostility toward the mighty endeavors to save the country and its victims from ruin. And — most deplorable! — the "Church was the bulwark of slavery."

History has here one lesson of infinite importance for all ages,—the results of compromising with moral wrong. The strongest struggle in our history against slavery prior to the abolition era, was on slavery in Missouri in 1819 and 1820. Had the free states stood inflexible slavery would have come to a halt and declined. Let the decree have been unfaltering — *No Slave Territory*, and it would have expired. But when the pressure came, then came compromise on the line of 36°, 30′. It was the "half-loaf" policy, and passed for wisdom. But now the slave power, grown to strength and arrogance, seizes the whole loaf, and the compromise is gone! So with all tampering compacts, partnerships, licenses, and "half-loaf" dickering with moral wrong — with the

Devil. Here the great liquor crime has been augmenting its strength for half a century on compromise as slavery had ever done. When will at least professed disciples obey the order, "Follow me," and say to all sin, "Get thee behind me, Satan"? It will be a new era in the earth's welfare. Compromise with moral wrong is apostasy from right, and such will ever be the outcome.

The victory of the exultant slave power was complete. It had been essentially successful against every opposing endeavor for two and a third centuries, and its chief decisive agency from the organization of the government had been political parties as the machinery of office-seeking ambition. This, as Mr. Berrien of Georgia said, was "the image of omnipotence here below." By this they conquered, and compelled acceptance of their victories. It is the most guilty and shameful fact of American citizenship, that it thus sacrificed individual responsibility to party, even to the surrender of the most vital principles of Constitutional liberty. Votes did it. How was it possible for a free, intelligent, and so far Christian people to be thus deluded and enslaved? The secret was in the exclusion of moral law from political life by Christian unfaithfulness in instruction and example; and there is to be our national ruin unless arrested by early, radical reform.

But though conquered, Liberty was not disarmed. Its defenders through long years of toil, persecution, and sacrifice, had so far enlightened the people, trained so large a portion against compromise, carefully searched out the true field of battle in the

Constitution, and there organized a new political power already of effective strength, every man sworn in for the war; and the old political fortresses of slavery were disintegrating under the power of anti-slavery truth and falling like the walls of Jericho. For fifteen years they had been denounced as fanatics, bigots, extremists, throwing away votes, aiding the worst party, killing their own cause, etc., but where would our country now have been without their work? Had it been as when defeated by the compromise of 1820, no one will now fail to see that submission would have been inevitable, and the country lost. A merciful God in his Providence had now prepared the North for this crisis, and the people rally for the redemption of the government from slavery to liberty. Fatal compromising was forever at an end. Instead of gloomy night, it was a glorious morning!

Eyes were opened to the degradation and danger of the country, and presses and pulpits, ecclesiastical bodies and state legislatures, in fast increasing numbers, and hitherto silent or equivocal, now spoke in positive terms. One essential fact was now demonstrated and admitted, that no political party constituted in part of the slave power, could be relied on for its overthrow; that all promises and professions of the old parties were worthless, and that hope rested alone in a new party over which the power to be overcome had no control. It was only common sense indorsed. Immediately after the passage of the Nebraska bill, thirty opposing members of the House met for consultation at the request of Mr. Israel Washburn of Maine, a Whig, and the nearly

unanimous conclusion was that any further attempts against the slave power through the old parties were hopeless, and that a new party alone could save the country. The name Republican was approved. He gave large credit to the National Era for the first movement in this direction. That paper had January 1, 1854, twenty-eight thousand circulation, and then commenced a daily. On his return he made a powerful speech in Bangor, in favor of the union of all friends of liberty, of whatever name, in support of this new party, for the "welfare of the Union and honor of the American name, a consideration which overrides the old effete organizations." It had much influence in the state.

The old organizations continued, sustained generally by their presses and the "hunker" classes, but the people, discovering at last their delusions, were fast joining the new movement. Michigan had nearly completed a union of Whigs and Free Soilers into a new party before the Nebraska bill passed, and was the first to adopt the Republican name and carry with it a triumphant majority. In Vermont the Whigs had made their nominations and cast off all alliance with slave-holders and their allies, but afterward joined the Republican movement and swept the state by a two-thirds majority, and sent two men to the United States Senate. Ohio and Indiana were carried by the same method — "to break the chains which bound the nation to slavery." In New York the Whigs avowed anti-Nebraska principles, but continued the party and carried the state. In one year eleven Republican senators were elected and one

hundred and twenty representatives against the Nebraska bill. Other states followed the next year and adopted the new Republican organization.

A secret party had arisen in 1853 called the American or Know-Nothing party, a prominent object of which was to exclude foreign citizens from office and keep the government in native American hands. The dissatisfaction with the old parties and other causes carried great numbers, North and South, into its support, and it became a decisive power in many states. In the North it supported the side of freedom, and did much for disrupting the old servile parties. Its growth was wonderful and mysterious. It claimed a million and a half of voters. It was divided on slavery, and in its National Council in 1855, after long debate, it was found impossible to unite even on silence on the subject, the result of which was division and extinction of the party. This cleared the way still more for the new Republican party, although it retained its organization in several northern states that year, and thus by preventing union left several in support of the administration.

"God in history" can be seen with more certainty than in passing events. The country was not yet ready for the final issue. It was aroused to indignation against slavery, but it needed a more inflexible and organic training, and slave-holders were furnishing it by rushing into the free states in pursuit of fugitives with a desperate barbarism that still more revealed itself, and braced up the North against it.

Anthony Burns was seized in Boston on a false pretext at the very time the Missouri repeal bill

passed the House, and taken to the court house under an armed guard. The news spread like electricity over the city and vicinity, and thousands rushed to the scene. Able counsel — Wendell Phillips and others — with much difficulty gained admittance, and obtained a little postponement for testimony. An immense meeting crowded Fanueil hall, most eloquent and stirring speeches were made, a rescue urged, and attempts made to break into the court house. One was badly bruised, and a man outside killed. The decision was for his surrender, but for want of concerted action his rescue failed. In tears he parted gratefully with his counsel, was taken by a strong guard on board of a revenue cutter sent by President Pierce to carry him to Virginia. When the vast throng had seen poor Burns go on board — the last sad sight — Rev. Mr. Foster said with strong, pathetic voice, "Let us pray," and he poured forth a most affecting prayer for the nation and its victim, which was soon answered. Indictments were obtained against Theodore Parker, W. Phillips, and several others, who were ably defended by John P. Hale, and the indictments quashed. This greatly increased the excitement not only in Massachusetts but in all New England.

Another case occurred in Ohio. A man and wife, with a son, wife, and four children, in Kentucky, attempted to gain their liberty, crossed the river on the ice to Cincinnati and took refuge in the house of a colored man. They were traced, a warrant found, and arrest attempted by forcing an entrance. The fight was severe and one of the assailants was badly

shot. They were compelled to surrender. One of the children was killed, the others terribly bruised and bleeding including the little infant. The mother had attempted to kill them to save them from slavery. They were taken back and sent down the river, but on the way the mother and little child were found overboard. She was rescued but the child lost, for which she was thankful, for it was then free!

In 1854 a man was arrested in Racine, Wisconsin, as a slave and imprisoned in Milwaukee. The people of Racine held a great indignation meeting, and a hundred men went to Milwaukee, where, joined by others, the man was taken by force and sent to Canada. Several were arrested, sent to jail, tried, but the Supreme Court of that state had the manly courage unanimously to declare the Fugitive Act unconstitutional, released the defendants, who returned home in triumph. These are specimens of what was occurring and awakening the indignation of the people. And not less offensive was the servility of judges of federal courts. A slave-holder took his slave woman and her two children to Philadelphia where she was informed that she was free, and with her children was aided to leave. Her assistants were arraigned, when Judge Kane (Cain) decided that they were still slaves in Pennsylvania, though brought there by their owners, because they were *property!* But as the "property" could not be produced, the defendants were released. An effort was made for an act additional to the fugitive law, giving it increased severity and excluding all state jurisdiction on the subject. It was introduced in the senate and

met severe handling by Chase, Seward, Wade, Fessenden and Sumner, who moved a repeal of the fugitive law. That received but nine votes, and the main bill passed, thirty to nine, but never appeared in the House.

CHAPTER XXX.

REVOLUTION BEGUN. GREAT MEETING IN BANGOR. DEMOCRATIC SECESSION. CONVENTION AT PORTLAND. NOMINATION. UNION LINE FORMED. DAUGHTERS OF FREEDOM. GRAND CELEBRATION. UNION FOR CONGRESS. "REPUBLICAN PARTY" IN FRANKLIN COUNTY. THE HARD CONFLICT. VICTORY!

THE breaking up of the old parties in Maine commenced back in the counties of Oxford and Franklin in 1852. There on their farms the people were comparatively free from counter forces. The two Democratic senators from Oxford County in the preceding legislature had joined with the Whigs in the election of Crosby against Hubbard on the Maine law. In their nominating convention at Paris, in July, a strong opposition appeared against them, (Walker and Holman,) and the contest lasted nearly all night, when by alleged fraud they were renominated. The opposition, determined to support the law, called another convention at Norway, which was large and enthusiastic, and adopted a new ticket. The first, however, barely succeeded, but there ended the ascendency of that party in that old Democratic county. The next year, after the liquor-Pillsbury-convention at Bangor already mentioned, out of that noble bolting Oxford element originated the great Democratic convention which nominated Anson P. Morrill. Hon. John J. Perry, then of the county, wrote the call, and with Hon. R. S. Stevens, circulated it

all over the state, and in as many papers as possible. The position of the party on slavery had greatly weakened the attachment of its best class of men, and made such actions easy. This was the beginning of Mr. Perry's public usefulness which was honorable to himself and valuable to the state.

Mention has been made of the prompt, noble action of Hon. Israel Washburn, representative from Maine in Congress, immediately after the passage of the bill repealing the old Compromise ;—how he got a consultation of opposing members with a nearly united decision that the old parties must be abandoned and a union of all the friends of liberty in a new party obtained, the name *Republican* recommended,—the course he said the National Era, the antislavery paper there, was advocating. It had a powerful influence in the direction recommended. When he returned to Bangor a very large meeting was held June 6, 1854, at which he made a powerful, thrilling speech which contributed much to hasten such reconstruction and unity in the state, especially with the Whigs. Ex-Governor Kent also made a speech in harmony with it. Resolutions were adopted: That we here raise the standard of repeal to the law which abrogates the Missouri Compromise ; that compromising was ended "and the issue was slavery or freedom" ; we will act persistently until slavery is prohibited in New Mexico and Utah, and the fugitive law is repealed or amended to provide for a jury and habeas corpus. The meeting was characterized by unity and earnestness, and closed with great cheers and applause. Mr. Wash-

burn's perception, integrity, and prompt action at this crisis were of great service to the state and country.

The Maine law Democratic secession of last year, led on by men of principle, rallied again in state convention June 7, at Portland. It was very large, able, and enthusiastic. The passage of the Nebraska bill had fully prepared that class of Democrats to finally abandon the party and its Pierce administration, and take the side of liberty. Its prominent speakers were J. J. Perry, C. G. Talbot, J. W. Munger, Dr. Nourse, A. P. Morrill, Judge Ludden. The resolutions declared: That we deeply lament the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and hereby pledge ourselves most effectually to use the ballot for its restoration; that the pretense that Congress has not the power to pass such laws against slavery is false and groundless; that this repeal has put an end to all compromises with slavery; that we plant ourselves on the platform of the Constitution with a firm determination "to ask nothing that is not clearly right, and to submit to nothing that is wrong." That instrument was made for the purpose of "securing the blessings of *liberty*," and it shall never by our consent, under any pretext be converted into an instrument for the extension of slavery; that the South shall have all its Constitutional rights, but when they demand that slavery shall be installed above freedom, ... we should be false to freedom if we did not meet it with determined opposition; that the Fugitive Slave law is wrong in principle, unjust and unrighteous in operation, and we will use all our powers for its repeal. The Maine law was also indorsed.

Anson P. Morrill was unanimously renominated for governor, with great enthusiasm. The position which the convention would take was not doubted, and it was the understanding that the Free Soil, or "Republican" party, as it began to be called, with a large body of the Whigs, would adopt the nomination. A large number of these classes were present, together with temperance men, but it was thought wisest to let the revolution go on under Democratic colors. A committee of the convention soon issued a "State Address to the Independent Electors of Maine," ably reviewing the condition of the country and parties, especially the Democratic, showing its "tame and base surrender" of the vital principles of liberty to slavery, and "the sad spectacle before the country and the world of truth and honor outraged." It showed how voting for the apostate party was indorsing all this, and giving up the nation to the despotism of slavery; that voting for the Whig candidate (Reed) was voting "neither one way nor another" on the great issues of the country, and strongly urged every voter "no longer to remain tied down by the shackles of party," but to vote for the "incorruptible patriot, Anson P. Morrill, liberty, and the Maine law." The Pierce Democracy nominated A. K. Parris for governor, and a liquor faction, not satisfied with its position on the Maine law, bolted in support of Shepard Cary.

The antislavery people in Maine had watched the progress of events with intense interest, and now they behold the old fortresses of their foes crumbling around them, their defenders forsaking them, and

one-third of the Democratic party moving on to their own field of conflict, and offering us a worthy and true representative of our cause as a candidate for governor! Beside this, we already heard the march of two-thirds of the Whig party approaching to join our ranks under the common flag of *Morrill, liberty, and temperance!* Twenty years of toil, sacrifice, detraction and hostility had been worn out in the war for the emancipation of Maine from abject bondage to the power of slavery and liquor, and "exalting it in righteousness"; and now they have their reward in the scene before them! "The heavens do rule." With one shout they hailed the Morrill flag, and gave it their utmost support. A solid, fraternal union of the best portion of society from all quarters was now begun, and its consummation assured on the basis, prominently, of the two great reforms. This could not have been done under either of the former antagonized organizations, and it was the better because a *reality* in the hearts and ballots of the people before organism existed. For several years we had seen the possibility of this result, and sought to hold things in an attitude favorable to it, though with no shadow of compromise of principle.

July 5, 1854, a State Free Democratic Convention was held at Lewiston. Every county in the state was represented, except Aroostook, and that by letters, and the roll of delegates was near eight hundred! This shows the spirit of the cause. Hon. Seth May was President. Ezekiel Holmes, in a fine speech, declined to be a candidate for governor, and strongly recommended Anson P. Morrill as an able

and reliable representative of our principles. His nomination was adopted with nearly entire unanimity and great enthusiasm. The glad hour had come at last to open the door, and practically embrace alliances which would speedily carry the state against slavery and liquor. In the afternoon a mass meeting was held in the grove, addressed by John P. Hale The number on the ground was between three and four thousand.

The resolutions reiterated our principles, that the only hope of the slave power is in keeping the North divided, and making attachment to old parties superior to attachment to freedom; that we demand the immediate repeal of the Fugitive Act; no more slave states, no slave territory, abolition in the District, the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and will support no man for office who does not support these principles; that the Maine law has been of priceless advantage to the people, and its continued and earnest support is demanded by the public welfare. The candidate was highly commended.

The Congressional elections of 1854 were of extraordinary importance. They would be the first response of the people to the proclaimed nationalization of slavery, and the repeal of the great compromise of 1820. In their results the slave power, the country, and the world, would read the future. I wrote:

Most earnestly do we desire, in common with all good men, that such arrangements may be adopted as that the voice of Maine in the next Congress may be unbroken against the Nebraska outrage, and the tyranny of the slave power. The claim of the Morrill Democrats to the second district is reasonable and just. The Free Soil

party should have one candidate, the Whigs the remaining four. This would be generous to them, show a fraternal spirit, and be satisfactory to all concerned. Thus we have sought to unite the people against the slave power, and its present governmental agents.

The Whigs in their state convention recommended non-partisan union "on such candidates as shall be true and faithful in the coming conflict between freedom and slavery."

The fourth of July had been much used in Maine in the cause of liberty to which it belonged, and with great benefit. It ought to be consecrated in all generations to the instruction of the people on the true principles of liberty and equal rights as taught in the Declaration, and the tremendous responsibility of an individual citizenship which under elective government has these rights and duties in solemn charge, together with the constant danger of their violation and loss. "Eternal vigilance is the price of Liberty."

The noble work which the societies called the "Daughters of Freedom" were doing in the state, for the cause of liberty and the slaves, the reader has repeatedly noticed. They, too, originated back in the western interior, and now extended to a large number of towns over the state. They were numbered and held in general alliance, and they did a great work in distributing antislavery literature, and were not afraid to stand by its truths. They were in earnest, and it was believed then that they exerted more political influence than if they had been interested in politics as voters. They would plead with husbands, fathers, brothers, to vote for the slaves, as woman only can. When going to the polls they would

entreat them, "Will you not vote for the poor slaves to-day?" and when returning they would meet them, "Father, husband, *did* you vote for those poor slaves to-day?" They put up their flags by their houses and along the roads and streets on election days, with mottoes of freedom and appeals. How could true manhood long withstand such appeals from disinterested woman's heart when so clearly right?

And now occurred a fourth of July celebration at East Livermore without a precedent in our history. These "Daughters of Freedom," the "Sons" uniting, got up such a celebration back there among the farmers, and in a grove where Methodists held camp-meetings. They had a ready assistance, but all in their name. John P. Hale was engaged as the principal orator, and Mrs. H. B. Stowe of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" fame, with her husband, Professor Stowe, was to be there. Such a throng gathered as probably never before had been in the interior of the state, estimated from six to ten thousand. Over and around the stand were tasteful banners with appropriate mottoes: "Hale and Liberty. No Compromise with Slavery." "Welcome, Author of Uncle Tom's Cabin." "The Deed is Done!" (draped in mourning.) "The Daughters of Freedom opposed to the Nebraska Bill." "Eternal Infamy to Douglass and his Followers." "Temperance and Liberty." "Liberty the Birthright of All." Another banner from Mt. Vernon represented Uncle Tom's Cabin with "Aunt Chloe," and many others. Mrs. Stowe was on the platform with other ladies and gentlemen. Rev. D. B. Randall was chosen President.

Among the speakers in the forenoon were Mr. Willey, Professor Stowe, and others. Then came the picnic dinner on long lines of tables in the grove. It was ample and admirable. After this Mr. Hale was called and made a long, powerful, eloquent speech, reviewing the condition of parties and the country, showing its alarming crisis, and appealing to the *voters* as the last resort. Northern doughfaces, he said, were denounced, but doughfaced representatives were the result of doughfaced constituents. His speech had a powerful effect. He was followed by Seth May, and then by General J. J. Perry whose earnest, able speech was listened to with much interest. He denounced the Compromise of 1850 and the Nebraska law, asking God to forgive him for his political course, for he was ashamed to say he voted for Frank Pierce.

Mrs. Stowe met the ladies and addressed them, cheering them on in their efforts. She said Uncle Tom's Cabin was every word of it written in Maine, doubtless when Mr. Stowe was professor in Bowdoin College. She accepted the office of corresponding secretary of the Daughters of Freedom. The occasion was felt by the whole state. People came fifty and sixty miles in carriages. Politicians who came to look on remarked, "It is no use to oppose this any longer"; and the reconstruction of the state was hastened.

The solid union for governor was extended to representatives to Congress as already suggested. John H. Wood was nominated by a union mass meeting in the first district, In the second, the Whigs nom-

inated at Auburn Charles J. Gilman, but appointed a committee of conference with the other two parties, which resulted in the adoption of John J. Perry,(Democrat), when Mr. Gilman resigned and earnestly supported Mr. Perry. Samuel P. Benson was adopted in the third district; Eben Knowlton, Free Soil, in the fourth district; Israel Washburn in the fifth district. These were all reliable men, fully devoted to the great reform. In the sixth district union was not effected and T. J. G. Fuller, a Pierce-Democrat was elected, the only and last one in the state.

The resolutions adopted by the Whig third district convention will show that there was no compromising policy in this great Second Revolution — second only in date; and the same principles essentially were avowed by all other conventions for the cause, viz.: We solemnly declare that freedom, not slavery, shall be the vital spirit that shall animate our government; that we will gladly co-operate with all who adopt these principles; — to bring the general government back to its original principles of liberty, repeal the Fugitive Slave law, restore the prohibition of slavery in Kansas and Nebraska, prohibit slavery in all territories, no more territory without the prohibition of slavery, no more slave states, abolition in the District of Columbia, protection of citizens going to other states, confinement of slavery to its Constitutional limits. It was cheering at last to see moral conviction, citizenship, manhood, rising above the bondage of party!

A large fourth of July celebration came off at Saccarappa, at which liquor and slavery were the leading themes. Among the toasts were: King George III.

and King Alcohol:—determined independence of both declared. The Fugitive Slave law:— the foulest and darkest blot on our glorious Republic. May our coming elections shadow forth the day of its repeal. Slavery and intemperance:—twin monsters of crime, wretchedness, and woe; may they be dragged to the highest pinnacle of justice, and from thence dashed on the firm rock of liberty, and be buried forever in the dark waters of oblivion. Voters for the Nebraska bill:—may the chains that shall bind upon them infamy be as enduring as that which binds the bondsman. It was an inspiring occasion.

Perhaps the most notable county action was in Franklin. There the three parties, Free Soil, Whigs, and Morrill Democrats, called each a convention at Strong, at the same time. They met, organized, and appointed one from each representative district to constitute a Conference Committee. They consulted in harmony, and reported that the meetings come together in Porter's hall, and select a candidate for senator from the Free Democrats, one for county commissioner from the Whig party, and one for county treasurer from the Independent Democrats. The meeting was held accordingly, organized, and made the nominations. It was then moved that the party now formed be called *The Republican Party*, which was done with enthusiastic cheers. Resolutions similar to those just stated were adopted, including the support of the Maine law and of General Perry for Congress. The name had been used in the press and otherwise, and recommended at Washington, and it would have been adopted by a state union conven-

tion that year had it not been deemed more favorable to the Democratic secession to let that name be retained. This was the first organic adoption of the name in Maine, but not in the country. It had been some time thus used at the West, but the Republican party was as actually formed in the state as if more specific action had been taken; and carrying the state as it did for objects so sublime, so beneficent, no era in its history approaches it in true glory, and that honor peculiarly belongs to the people. Where had it been!—and where was it now!

The opposing forces were strong, and the contest severe. The Democratic party had generally controlled the state from its origin, and its struggle was desperate to retain it. And the liquor interest was equally desperate, for its fate was in issue. On the other side was equal energy, inspired by the grandest objects that ever heard of the ballot-box. Joshua R. Giddings made a short visit again to the state with great usefulness, also Mr. Jackson of Indiana, and Rev. Mr. Green. John P. Hale gave some assistance. The three combined elements at home included the moral strength and best ability of the state, which was liberally volunteered. William Pitt Fessenden met the people effectively, also Samuel Mayall, representative in Congress of the second district, who had abandoned the Democratic party and now gave his strong ability to the side of liberty. The Whig convention of that district passed a resolution, "That the bold, manly, and honorable course of Hon. Samuel Mayall in Congress, in opposition to the Nebraska iniquity, meets the hearty and unanimous

approval of the Whigs of this district." Had he not soon left the state for Minnesota he would have rendered it much more service in behalf of the joint reforms. I did several months' hard labor in the field that year in the aggregate, beside all my office work. Riding one day with Mr. Morrill to a meeting he generously remarked that, before he adopted the principles and cause of liberty he thought me too severe in the treatment of those opposed to it, but now he saw that I was right, and did just what the case demanded.

Union nominations for senators, state representatives, and county officers had been secured, and on the eleventh of September, 1854, the ballot-box spoke.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE VOTES COUNTED. "GLORIOUS DAY FOR MAINE!" WORK RENEWED. UNION STATE CONVENTION. NEAL DOW ELECTED MAYOR. PORTLAND MOB. TEMPERANCE. DAUGHTERS OF FREEDOM. CELEBRATION. FIRST OF AUGUST CELEBRATION. REPUBLICAN CONVENTION. ELECTIONS. RELIGIOUS ACTION. MAINE REDEEMED!

THE year 1855 dawned on Maine and the country as no other had in antislavery history. As I wrote: "Never before did the friends of liberty and temperance see a year expire with equal satisfaction, nor hail a new year with higher hopes. If faithful, faithful, faithful, redemption is near. The happiest New Year is ever the most *useful* one." The legislature met January 3, and organized. The official vote for governor was: Anson P. Morrill, Republican, forty-four thousand five hundred and sixty-five; Albion K. Parris, Democrat, twenty-eight thousand four hundred and sixty-two; Isaac Reed, Whig, fourteen thousand and one; Shepard Carey, "Wild Cat," Liquor, three thousand one hundred and seventy-eight. There being no election, the House sent the names of Morrill and Reed to the Senate, the opposition largely uniting on the latter, but the Senate was a unit for Morrill. The House consisted of one hundred and fifty-one members, one hundred and eight of whom were Republicans, thirty-nine, Pierce-Democrats. In the Senate, Whigs united with Republicans. Sidney

Perham was elected speaker; H. K. Baker, clerk; Alden Jackson, secretary of state; Woodbury Davis, state treasurer. All action was harmonious, and the spirit prevailing in the Republican party was in the highest degree gratifying and hopeful. I was there, and wrote:

Glorious day for Maine! From this day begins a new Olympiad of freedom. It is "the beginning of days" in Maine. All back of it is antediluvian. Today liberty, temperance, justice, and humanity, are crowned with the laurels of the commonwealth, and installed in power. As the intelligence reaches our two-thirds of a million of population, the great heart of the state will swell with a pride unequalled since Burgoyne surrendered. A year and a half ago we saw the possibility, and said, if what is now done should be accomplished, Maine would have advanced fifty years in moral progress at a single bound, and as a state her place at the head of American civilization could not be disputed. It is done. And with proper wisdom and energy by the people, it cannot be undone.

Governor Morrill's Message was plain, able, sound, and suggestive, upon the various interests of the state. He dwelt on the Maine law, its rightfulness and necessity. "It is too late," he said, "to plead that making men inebriates, or giving them the facilities to become such, is no crime. Liquor-selling is in direct conflict with the health, morals, industry, peace, and happiness of society. The law should be enforced for the protection of society, and mercy to the offender. Executive officers have been culpably negligent, and the law has not had a fair trial. Let the prison be opened for the reception and reformation of the violators of the law for the first offence, and few will continue the business."

On the subject of slavery he was equally positive and sound. After dwelling on the aggressions of

slavery and the submission of the North, he said that, "the national government was formed for liberty," that "its policy was to prohibit, absolutely, the extension of slavery," but now "this had come to be reversed and devotion to slavery is made paramount to the Constitution, and Congress, by the unconstitutional Fugitive law, and especially by the Nebraska act, is acting on that assumption. We are unworthy of the name of freemen if we do not resist the unconstitutional advances of slavery. The constitution is an absolute law of impartial liberty to the extent of its jurisdiction. We ask nothing but what is right, and will submit to nothing wrong."

Here was represented the solid ground on which the party stood. The identical principles of the Liberty party at its origin were retained, as they were under the name of Free Soil. There was no shadow of compromising. We cared nothing for name or party except as means of establishing right principles. There was very imperfect perception of the sublime magnitude of this great achievement even by its warm advocates, nor is it fully comprehended to this day. The fundamental adoption of the temperance law at its origin as a corner-stone of the party of freedom, was priceless. It gave it broader comprehension, brought to it a great accession of the best people of the state, and saved the law by bringing a new, reliable party to its support. But for this, the law would have perished as it did essentially in all other states where enacted, and ever will, if entrusted to parties in any alliance with the evil to be overcome. But although the future was morally assured, the final consummation awaited still the voice of the people.

The Whig party was gone, but the "hunker" and liquor section held the skeleton before society. The Democratic party claimed to *be*, but one of its adherents proposed "a diving-bell to discover where it was." The antislavery people kept up their work on society. The vile obsequiousness of Pierce's administration had nearly lost support in the North, and produced such disgust as to aid in the political reconstruction of the country. Religious hostility was yielding to public sentiment.

The ladies kept up their invaluable work. A fair was held at South Paris early in January. The weather was fine and the attendance large, delegates coming from eighteen towns, with the Buckfield brass band. It continued two days. Sessions were held for addresses in the Methodist church by Rev. Mr. Souther, A. Willey, Miss Watkins on temperance, Rev. Mr. Sewall, Rev. Mr. Barrows, Mrs. Daggett, Rev. Mr. Dunham, and others. It was a delightful and inspiring occasion. The Daughters of Freedom held another successful fair at Farmington Falls in January, another in Augusta, and another at Canton Mills in February with fine effect. Other meetings of that organization were held, and local societies increasing. A course of antislavery lectures was arranged in Bangor, and Cassius M. Clay was one of the speakers. Another, the distinguished Lucy Stone, and then Frederick Douglass gave two lectures. He was once a slave; he escaped, acquired knowledge, and eminent ability as an orator, and became the most distinguished man of his race in the country. These gave other valuable addresses in

the state. The Hutchinson Family visited the state and stirred the hearts of thousands for the slaves by the eloquence of their music.

February 22, a Union State Republican Convention, called by a committee appointed by a conference of one hundred and thirty-seven Republican members of the legislature, was held in Augusta. It was very large, able, harmonious, earnest, and eminently successful. It was called irrespective of former parties, and all invited who were in favor of the Maine law, and opposed to the aggressions of slavery. Hon. Edward Kent of Bangor was chosen president, with a vice-president from each county, and with committees. Mr. Morrill was nominated for re-election as governor by acclamation. When he came to the platform he was received with loud cheers, and his brief speech of acceptance was greeted with great enthusiasm. The convention was addressed by Messrs. Cone, Ludden, Peck, Lincoln, Willey, Nourse, Goodenough, Cram, Sayward, McCrillis, Kallock.

The resolutions declared: That human freedom is the paramount political question before the country; that the Constitution is a law of impartial liberty to the full extent of powers granted to the general government; that Congress by the Constitution is the special guardian of the people in the District of Columbia and territories, and until it abolishes slavery in one and prohibits it in the other it will be false to its trust; that there should be no more slave states; that the fugitive law is inhuman and unconstitutional and ought to be immediately repealed; that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was a violation of

the plighted faith of the South, and Northern men who voted for it basely betrayed their trust; that every inhabitant of the state is entitled to its protection, and any violation of this right without due process of law and jury trial should be a penal offense; that the policy of our fathers and the spirit of our institutions urge us to give the hand of welcome to the oppressed of other nations; "that the existence and execution of the Maine Temperance law is a vital element of the organization and life of the Republican party of this state, and is one of the chief safeguards of the lives, reputation, property, and homes of our people."

Here was the exalted plane to which Maine was to be finally raised. From the support of human brutality to humanity, from man-stealing to justice, from woman-whipping and baby-stealing to civilization, from despotism to liberty, from drunkard-making to imprisonment of drunkard-makers, from poverty to plenty, from domestic torment to sweet, sweet homes, from guilt to righteousness, from shame to honor, from paganism to Christianity. No wonder the people were inspired.

At this time quite a number of citizens met in Portland to organize a Maine Colonization Society — an old system which public dissension had nearly forced out of sight for half a generation. The movement was by the class of titled politicians and ministers most hostile to the antislavery cause, which had gained such ascendency as to make the position of such men uncomfortable. So that skeleton was resurrected, to show that they were *somewhere*, for that

would "ameliorate the condition of many colored persons." A society was formed, and Hon. George Evans was made President. What became of it neither record nor recollection can tell. It was like the invention of high license on the liquor traffic.

The legislature before its close passed resolutions affirming the principles of the state convention on slavery, and called on the Congressmen from the state to do all in their power for the repeal of the slave laws in the District of Columbia, of the fugitive law, for prohibition of slavery in all territories, and preventing the admission of new slave states. A bill also passed forbidding state officers and jails for slave-catching. A new liquor law was passed making the penalty for its violations twenty dollars and costs, with imprisonment for first offense, thirty days; for the second, sixty days; for the third, ninety days; for all others, costs, two hundred dollars, and imprisonment six months. The State Committee of the Pierce-Democracy, with many of its prominent men, held a consultation at Augusta, and agreed to extend an invitation to the fifteen thousand Straight Whigs to join them against "Neal Dowism," and on the platform of "the national administration." A state convention was agreed on, to which these "Straight Whigs" were to be invited.

One of the severest contests for mayor of Portland terminated in the election of Neal Dow. The liquor law had never been honestly executed since his first term of office, and that year it was determined to elect him again. The liquor and proslavery class had their candidate, and desperate measures were

adopted, but failed. It was a grand moral victory, and the world would feel again the benefit of a faithful execution of the law in that city. The temperance cause, like that of liberty, was compelled to struggle against the Christian Mirror and its perverted moral influence in the state. Its editor voted with the rum party. Many Christian hearts sighed, but in vain. Seth May, Esquire, was now appointed judge of the Supreme Court. It was a worthy step in the great revolution, and the next year Woodbury Davis was placed on the same bench.

The last of May, false accusations against Mayor Dow were published in the city papers on the liquor side, and a strong effort was made to break him down. He was impudently requested to resign. This war culminated in a mob to seize liquors stored under the city hall, which papers falsely said were his. They crowded around the hall in the evening with riotous clamor, throwing stones at the doors and windows and demanding entrance. An armed police guarded the door, and their warnings being disregarded they fired and killed one man. The Rifle Guards then appeared, Mr. Dow at the head, took possession, and one section fired, killing one and wounding many, when the mob dispersed. The government had the approval of all good citizens, and was strengthened. He was prosecuted for murder, but was vindicated by the Grand Jury.

The Democratic party held its convention at Augusta, June 21, but the policy of fusion with the Whig relic failed. Samuel Wells was nominated for governor and a platform adopted against the Maine

law and in support of the Pierce administration. The Whig fragment held a meeting, declared against the Maine law for "glorious Whig principles," and nominated Isaac Reed for governor.

A State Temperance Convention was held in Bangor, June 26 and 27. It was a glorious gathering, and in spirit and determination it was all that could be desired. It declared that each year demonstrated the necessity and efficiency of the law; strongly supported its increased penalties which would hurt no one who did not violate the law, and congratulated the people that the old parties had thrown off the mask, although against the law. Now they were in the open field.

The Congregational State Conference, held in Portland, though still silent on slavery, passed the following resolution: "Resolved, that the law of this state for the suppression of the sale of intoxicating liquors, meets our cordial approval. Its necessity has been abundantly demonstrated, and we believe it to be our duty to use all our influence in every proper manner for its vigorous enforcement, and to prevent its repeal or any essential modification."

At the close of the conference a large temperance meeting was held in the evening, of great interest and useful influence. Mr. Dow was chairman, Dr. Tappan prayed, and thrilling speeches were made by Mr. Dow, Rev. U. Balkam, J. R. Adams, W. Parker, S. C. Fessenden, S. Thurston, S. H. Merrill. Mr. Dow was surprised by the presentation of certificates of life memberships of the Seamen's Friend Society, the American Tract Society, the American Bible

Society by Rev. I. Willey, of New Hampshire, and the American Missionary Association. He never knew to whom he was indebted for these testimonials.

But now came at South Paris another of those glorious fourth of July celebrations invited by the Sons and Daughters of Freedom. The local organizations of these Daughters of Freedom had doubled the last year, and men in many places were following their example, and forming "Sons of Freedom," and both combined on this occasion. There, in a beautiful pine grove, near the depot, the people rallied by hundreds and thousands, with bands and flags. Never was such a collection seen in that part of the state, estimated at eight thousand, and all hearts full of the true fourth of 1776. Hon. Sidney Perham was chosen president, and prayer was offered by Rev. Adam Wilson, who was a warm advocate of the cause, both in the Baptist paper, of which he was long editor and proprietor, and in his ministry. The services began at ten in the morning, and continued till six in the afternoon, with a short recess for the splendid picnic which the ladies had prepared, and all without weariness or abating interest. The speakers were, W. Davis, Governor Morrill, Dr. Parsons, Mr. Patterson of Missouri, whose press had just been destroyed by a mob, Neal Dow, Rev. Mr. Chandler, General Fessenden, Hon. Samuel Mayall, late representative to Congress, Rev. J. L. Stevens, Rev. D. B. Randall and others. With such sound ability and power of truth and eloquence, and in behalf of such sublime objects, no wonder the people — men and women — were inspired. I was expected to be there





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and share in the grand memorial of liberty, but had not returned from a tour to Minnesota for health.

When the opposing politicians saw the plan for this great celebration, and remembering the power of that of the preceding year, they were alarmed and contrived a plot to defeat it. This was to hold a great celebration of their own at Paris Hill, a few miles distant, make the greatest noise possible, and so divert attendance. The result was a small meeting of little interest at the Hill, an increase at South Paris, and an indication that the people had abandoned them! They could scarcely have done the cause of freedom and temperance a greater service. Some came down and sat in their carriages to see the vast procession of Liberty. A large number of celebrations were held in the state, which fortified the people for September. Tracts and other documents were circulated.

Another occasion of great public value was the celebration of West India Emancipation, August 1, at Buxton. It was a very large gathering of the people, and ten crowded cars went from Portland with a brass band and the Rifle Guards. A long procession marched to the grove. General Fessenden was elected Chairman, Elder Thompson offered prayer, music by the band, when John P. Hale was called and loudly greeted. He made one of his best speeches. Then J. R. Giddings was called and heartily greeted by the thousands. He traced slavery historically, complimented Maine for its progress in the great reforms, praised the Daughters of Freedom,

and other faithful women in Maine, and said their example was being followed in other states. "When the women are faithful there is no danger to freedom." Let Maine stand fast this year, "and Ohio will send back an echo that will thrill every free heart with joy."

After the picnic Governor Morrill made his best speech, — bold and unanswerable, showing up the opposition. W. Davis made remarks, when Mr. Hale was called again. He, too, thanked the Daughters of Freedom, appealed to the women of Maine to be true to suffering humanity, with thrilling power urged "old men and young to do their duty now, and ministers to be fearless and faithful." Mr. Giddings added a few stout words, when the celebration closed with three rousing cheers for the Republican party, three for Ohio, three for New Hampshire, and then the band. No better occasion had ever been seen in the state.

But August 14, 1855, exceeded all others. A Republican State Convention met in Portland, of from eight to ten thousand. The railroads brought thirty car-loads; — as a specimen, four hundred from Saco and Biddeford. Five bands of music came from the country. Messrs. Hale of New Hampshire, Wade of Ohio, Banks of Massachusetts, Governor Cleveland of Connecticut, Bell of New Hampshire, were there. In the forenoon two of the largest halls were crowded to the utmost, and a great crowd was addressed from the balcony of the United States Hotel by Senators Fessenden and Hale. In city hall

addresses were by Messrs. Morse, Perry, Kent, Benson; in Deering Hall, Washburn and Banks. In the afternoon an immense procession marched to Deering Grove, where great speeches were made by Messrs. Wade, Cleveland, and Hale. In the evening, Senator Bell and others addressed a crowded meeting in Deering Hall. The speeches were powerful, rousing to a serious, manly energy. It was not mere excitement. Never were sublimer issues appealing to human duty. If the Maine law was destroyed at home, what would be the calamity to human welfare! And there were the oppressed millions of our country pleading for deliverance, the destiny of our country itself trembling, with the question involved whether Christianity or Satan should triumph. Maine had risen to a higher moral elevation and more positive than any other state on this mighty conflict, its victory won after a quarter of a century's struggle; shall it now surrender to Rum and Slavery — the allied "sum of all villainies"? This was answered again by the re-adoption of the resolutions of the convention of February 22, adding, that "the wrongs inflicted on the people of Kansas by armed mobs from Missouri to force slavery upon it, with the indifference or complicity of the President and his agents, demands the severest disapprobation."

Senators Wade, Hale, Wilson, Fessenden, and Representatives Washburn and Banks addressed the people all over the state, and to this was added a large amount of home work by S. Mayall, Mr. Dow, and others. County meetings were held, nominations made, and the people were awakened to vigorous

activity. The party of liquor and human brutality saw that if the state could not now be recovered, if the new combination could not now be defeated and broken up, the case would be hopeless. No possible effort (and "all 's fair in politics") was avoided to prejudice, deceive, delude, and mislead the people. The administration of Pierce had become so infamous that little capital could be made on the subject of slavery, and the new liquor law with its imprisoning penalties was made the leading point of attack. The whole country watched for the result with peculiar interest. The ministers were generally speaking out boldly, at least on temperance, and asserting the law of God over the ballot. For this they were denounced. They were "meddling with politics." "Church and state!" But the crisis was faithfully met by men and women, by "Sons" and "Daughters." Our last word was: "Remember that we have the prayers of nearly every pious man and woman in the state; *and no prayers against us!*"

The election returns were: Morrill, Republican, fifty-one thousand four hundred and forty-one; Wells, Democrat, forty-eight thousand three hundred and forty-one; Reed, Whig, ten thousand six hundred and ten. Here were twenty thousand more votes from some source than in the preceding year. The Republicans gained about six thousand, the Whigs lost near three thousand four hundred, the Democrats gained about twenty thousand. They took back the Cary "Wild Cat" faction and got about one third of the Whigs. Morrill's plurality was over three thousand, but there was no election. The legislature was lost

and that lost all. It was a severe disappointment. The liquor power had done it, and largely by aid outside of the state. It saw clearly the immense importance of breaking down that law at home, and in Boston and New York it silently enlisted in that object. How much money was expended was not known. A great cry was made against the new penalties, unheard of against liquor selling, and which dealers could not afford to defy. This probably occasioned the loss of some votes; and many had voted with the new party the previous year not trained to the war. They were "too many."

But although there was disappointment there was no discouragement. There we stood at the head of the popular vote of the state, fifty-one thousand four hundred and forty-one strong, every man tested in the field! The past year the new Maine law was essentially the only issue, but now the presidential year opened with all the artillery power of the mighty issue — Our country for Liberty or for Slavery! One of the old parties was extinct, the other doomed. With our strong increase of strength against such resistance, and the harvest of the past sowing awaiting the opening year, there was no faltering. The Maine law would of course be repealed, but it was certain to be restored, and the consequences sure to follow the repeal would give it invincible strength in the future. But what would have become of it had there been no new party in its support? Hopelessly lost!

The free states were fast abandoning the old political machinery by which the country had been led to

the verge of ruin, and organizing by large majorities into the new Republican party. Vermont gave this party over eight thousand majority for governor, a united senate and almost a united house. Massachusetts was moving in the same direction against its old "cotton aristocracy." Henry Wilson was already in the United States Senate. In Ohio the inspiration of freedom was resistless, and the Republican party carried the state by a vast majority for Hon. S. P. Chase as governor. Indiana was nearly in line with Ohio. She held that year a Republican convention of twenty thousand. In New Hampshire the spring elections in 1855 swept the Pierce party overboard leaving it but one vote in the senate, and but eighty-two of about three hundred in the house. Two United States senators were to be chosen — one for full term and one for the unexpired term consequent on the death of Atherton. James Bell, an able man and reliable for freedom, was elected for the full term, and John P. Hale for the short term. This return of Mr. Hale to the senate was greeted by all friends of Liberty in the land. Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin had taken the Republican name and principles, "and stood girt with power for a death-struggle for freedom." New York was in revolution for the same position, and the reliability of Maine for the great conflict was as undoubted as before the temporary defeat. Her position at the front would be quickly recovered, as it was the next year, when the vote stood: Hannibal Hamlin for governor, sixty-nine thousand five hundred and seventy-four; Wells, forty-three thousand six hundred and twenty-eight; Patten, Whig, six thousand

five hundred and fifty-four. Majority for Liberty and Temperance, near twenty thousand! The shouts of victory for Slavery and Liquor were never heard again on that coast! Let historical engineers compare the moral level of this state ten and twenty years before with what it was at this period, and find if they can an equal uplifting in American history. Maine had been rolled off the panting bosoms of oppressed millions, and all its powers enlisted to roll off the nation; and the great liquor woe and curse of the state was doomed to annihilation. Hallelujahs to Him to whom all the praise belonged were heard in other worlds, and every berated toiler felt repaid by the grand achievement which ought to be periodically celebrated in all the future with thanksgiving to Him who gave the energy and answered the prayers. Neither of the great reforms ever rested on policy alone, but on moral right and law of God. On that Rock we built, and no state has exceeded it in stability, in peace and in war, although it has not been faithful to its vows in the execution of the law against the liquor traffic.

The Congregational State Conference had been silent on slavery several years, but in 1854 the repeal of the Missouri Compromise so shocked the country that Dr. Dwight boldly broke the silence by offering a resolution and supporting it by a powerful speech. Debate followed till a late hour when it was adopted. It said that the late action of Congress which opens to slavery a vast territory secured by law to freedom, meets with our strongest disapprobation, and we feel called on as Christian citizens to resist its effects in all proper ways as a flagrant breach of faith, as

extending the wicked slave system, dooming future millions to be crushed by it, endangering the Union, making us the scorn of other nations, exposing us to the judgments of God, and obstructing Christ's kingdom in the world.

In 1855, the Conference again "passed by on the other side"; but in 1856 a whole evening was devoted to the discussion of "the duty of Christian men in the present crisis of our country." Dr. Dwight again occupied an hour in eloquent speech, followed by Revs. E. F. Cutter, S. Thurston, J. Drummond, Dr. Adams, and others. It was asserted as duty to trust in God and implore his blessing, speak boldly against the slave power, spread light everywhere, vote for those who will stand for *freedom to all*, and rather resist unto blood than to allow the extension and control of slavery. Dr. Tappan led in fervent prayer. Hostile influences no longer controlled that body.

In 1857, the Conference voted their approbation of the American Home Missionary Society for withholding aid from all slaveholding churches. The next year the Conference by strong majority passed resolutions, that "the American Tract Society at New York having refused to make itself felt in behalf of the oppressed in our land we regard its attitude in this matter with deep disapprobation and sorrow." Such positions in earlier years by abolitionists were severely denounced. During the war the Conference firmly supported the government like other denominations, demanded its powers for the freedom of the slaves, and earnestly applauded its final Proclamation.

In 1856, the Maine Baptist Convention passed the following comprehensive resolutions, Rev. S. L. Caldwell being chairman of the committee.

Resolved, That we, Baptist Christians in Maine, assembled in Convention, take occasion again to pronounce our unqualified judgment upon American Slavery, as evil in its character and in its fruits, contrary to Christian righteousness and human welfare, a harm and a shame to our Christianity and our civilization.

Resolved, That in its enlarging and imperious aggressions, not upon the race only which it enslaves, but upon the Territory, the Constitution, the Liberties of the Republic, its disturbing influence in all our public affairs, civil and religious, we see new and clearer developments of its evil nature, growing worse continually, as well as new and stronger reasons for all righteous and effectual resistance to it.

Resolved, That while we pity the slave, and in the name of Christ and humanity maintain his right to be free, we must also keep our own freedom inviolate, at all hazards; and regarding the attack lately made upon an American Senator as no more a personal outrage upon him than a violence upon free speech and guaranteed rights, as well as an exhibition of the essentially barbarous and despotic spirit of slavery itself, we here and now, as *Baptists*, who hold Liberty as a religious right; as *Americans*, who have received it as a blood-bought heritage; as *men*, claiming it for all mankind — sorrowfully and yet sternly resent and condemn this act.

Resolved, That in the struggle now going on upon our Western Frontier, so far as the issue is between Slavery and Freedom, we have no question where our sympathies should be; and while we deprecate the armed violence of the conflict, we feel it to be our duty to encourage and help those who seek to exclude Human Bondage from the land once and forever consecrated to Freedom.

Resolved, That we believe the Pulpit is required to give greater prominence to this great wrong, so far as it has relation to Christ's Truth, and obstructs Christ's Kingdom; but we more especially and earnestly would call upon our Christian brethren, and join with them in looking to the righteous Lord on High, who is the strength and confidence of His people, praying that he would bring out of these dark and troubled events, not only Peace, but the Deliverance of the Bondman, the establishment of Justice, the progress of His Kingdom, and the Glory of His Name.

Rev. Thomas B. Robinson, so frequently mentioned in this history, was an active and devoted friend of the slave, and of a religion which demanded the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound.



REV. THOMAS B. ROBINSON.



CHAPTER XXXII.

KANSAS THE FIELD OF CONFLICT. EMIGRATION. RESISTANCE. ELECTIONS. FRAUD. VIOLENCE. BUILDINGS BURNED. CANNON FIRED. FREE STATE OFFICERS IMPRISONED. LEGISLATURE DISPERSED. NO HELP FROM CONGRESS. SUMNER STRUCK DOWN. RECOVERS. ASSAILED AGAIN. DIES A MARTYR. CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY. FREEDOM RALLIES. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. MAINE. POSITION OF THE SOUTH. SLAVE-TRADE.

THE great field of conflict between slavery and liberty before the nation from 1854 to 1861 was in Kansas. Thirty-four years it had been covered by a national law of liberty, but the country was base and besotted enough to allow its slave masters to blot out that law and throw the whole vast region north of 36° 30′ open to slavery. The pretense was a high regard for the alleged right of the inhabitants to decide that question for themselves, but hypocrisy and deception were soon apparent. The people saw that the only possible chance to save that whole region from slavery, and its soil from being cursed with the blood and tears of the oppressed, was to hurry free population there. A large emigration speedily began in New England, many from Maine, assisted by a New England Emigrant Aid Society. Similar societies were formed in New York, Ohio, and other states. The slave-holders saw the danger and pressed their population into Kansas as rapidly as possible, including the lowest ruffians that could be gathered from

Missouri and elsewhere. They went not generally for residence but armed for robbery, outrage, intimidation, and murder. Little did the excellent population with its families from the North know what they were to meet, nor the country even yet know what slavery was. But this was the last chance.

A desperate conflict was soon apparent — perhaps war. If Kansas and Nebraska should be lost to slavery, all that it gained by the repeal of the Compromise of 1830 would be lost. And if lost to liberty, all limitation of slavery would apparently be lost. There was no hope in the government.

Emigration continued, individual and in colonies of even seventy, with tools, tents, an outfit for a steam saw-mill, and soon with means for self-defence. The design of the slave power was to assail these emigrants by gangs of Missouri brigands, rob, steal, kill, break up their settlements, and drive them from the territory. Several were shot and killed. But they found a fearless persistence before which they faltered. When elections were to be held these Missouri gangs would pour in and fill the ballot-boxes, and thus elect their men. The order was, "Mark every scoundrel tainted with abolition, and exterminate him." No appeals to the government for protection were of any avail. The President was the abject tool of the South, servility his only ambition. He even turned Governor Reeder out of office, although a strong Democrat, because he had some sense of justice.

In 1855, the first legislature was elected by fraud, true voters driven from the polls, and only two free

state members elected when there should have been a majority. It originated a convention to form a state constitution, and passed the most infamous laws ever written. The free state men repudiated it all, held a convention, adopted a constitution, and elected Governor Reeder delegate to Congress. Both constitutions were presented, and the electoral frauds exposed. A committee of investigation was appointed, whose report proved the charges, but that had little effect. Messrs. Hale, Wilson, Sumner, Seward, Fessenden, and Hamlin, defended the cause of justice in the Senate, and a strong force in the House. The free state party kept up their civil organizations, but without resistance to the other, until May, 1856, when an armed host concentrated before the city of Lawrence, under leadership of national officials, and leveled its guns to burn, plunder, and kill. Arrests and imprisonments were made of free state officers. Governor Robinson's house was plundered and burned, printing offices destroyed, forty cannon shots were sent into a hotel and it was then burned, with a large number of other houses; the whole value of property stolen and destroyed amounting to one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. It was publicly announced that "Free State men must leave the territory." The Free legislature met in July, and considered the question of enacting laws to protect the people, but took no action. By orders from Washington the legislature at Topeka was dispersed.

It was a dark day; but the heroic freemen of Kansas held out against all resistance and suffering year

after year. Congress was kept in constant agitation, and the public mind excited by the atrocities and barbarism of slavery, and receiving its necessary lessons. But in July, 1859, the free population of Kansas had largely increased, and a Free State Convention was held at Wyandotte, which framed and adopted a constitution, which was approved by a majority of four thousand of the people. It was presented to Congress in April, 1860, and admission asked. Warm debate followed, including Mr. Sumner's masterly speech on the "Barbarism of Slavery," which stirred to fury the slave-holders. But the bill could not pass until January 21, 1861. Mr. Lincoln had been elected, the Democratic party, the last pillar of the slave power, disrupted, and secession begun. Enough southern senators withdrew to leave the Senate open for Kansas, and the bill passed. So the Almighty "carries the councils of the wicked headlong," and makes them their own destroyers.

An event occurred in connection with the Kansas-Nebraska conflict which history can never overlook. In the spring of 1856 when despotism was raging there, the country agitated, Congress debating, Mr. Sumner delivered his exhaustive, immortal speech on the "Crime against Kansas." With terrible, unanswerable truth and power of eloquence he laid open the whole crime — its origin and extent. The slave-holders writhed; they saw its power on the country, but had no defence except the cudgel. Two days after, by concert, Brooks, representative from South Carolina, entered the senate chamber after the Senate had adjourned, approached Mr. Sumner who remained

writing at his desk, and struck his head with a cudgel till he fell insensible and bleeding upon the floor. Several in sympathy with Brooks were within reach. Report quickly reached Mr. Sumner's friends, who ran, took him to an anteroom where his wounds were dressed, when he was carried, still bleeding, to his lodging.

The whole country felt the shock like an earthquake, the South justifying and honoring the deed and the North denouncing it. The Free senators boldly declared it lawless, cowardly, and infamous, and obtained a committee of inquiry, but all being in sympathy with the deed, no report was made. Freemen in the House were equally fearless and secured a committee which reported the facts, but nothing more than a vote of censure could be obtained. To this Brooks haughtily replied, resigned, and was promptly returned. This was a positive division of the country on the slave line, and had a powerful influence in bracing up the North for a final issue, which it was seen must soon come. The inconceivable degradation and shame to which society at the North had fallen was seen in the fact that James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, who in the Senate declared Sumner's speech "the most vulgar tirade of abuse ever delivered in a representative body," was elected President that same year, and largely by Northern votes against the mighty appeals of liberty!

Mr. Sumner's injuries were serious, and his friends anxious; but by medical treatment in this country and Europe, he was able to return to the Senate in four years, and share in the final Kansas victory,

delivering his masterly speech on the "Barbarism of Slavery." He remained in the Senate and was chairman on Committee of Foreign Relations when Grant was elected President, who represented a very different class of statesmen. Mr. Sumner felt it his duty to oppose his favorite scheme for the acquisition of St. Domingo, and this led to a war on him by which he was turned off from that Committee by a subject Senate. His impaired nervous system could not bear this second attack, and he soon died. He is believed to have been the highest model of true statesmanship ever sent to that Senate, and did great service to the country during the war, and at its close under Lincoln in behalf of liberty.

The condition of the country on slavery in 1856 turned great interest upon the presidential election of that year. It might involve the issue of civil war, such was the haughty, threatening arrogance of the slave power. It boldly declared: "Protect Liberty in Kansas, and the Union is divided!" The friends of freedom had strong hopes of securing union to such an extent as to elect their candidates. On the twenty-second of February, a convention, called by chairmen of Republican state committees in several states, was held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to promote a national organization, and arrange for a national convention for nominations. It did much to tone up to a positive, uncompromising position, and agreed on June 17, for a convention at Philadelphia. It was called to order by Hon. E. D. Morgan of New York, prayer by Rev. Albert Barnes; President, Henry S. Lane of Ohio. On the first ballot, John C.

Fremont received three hundred and fifty-nine votes, and Judge McLean, one hundred and ninety-six, when the nomination of Fremont was made unanimous. The platform asserted the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the duty of the government to maintain them; denied that Congress or any other power could "give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States"; asserted that the sovereign power over territories was in Congress, and its solemn duty "to prohibit those twin relics of barbarism — Polygamy and Slavery." It powerfully arraigned the President and all his conspirators for their treatment of Kansas. W. L. Dayton of Ohio was nominated for Vice-president. "It was a platform of freedom, humanity, and Christianity."

The American party divided — the proslavery division nominating Millard Fillmore, the seceders, General Banks. The Whig party was essentially extinct, but a fragment held a convention and nominated the Fillmore ticket. The Democratic party nominated James Buchanan, the appropriate representative of a platform indorsing every principle and demand of the slave power. His declaration on the assault on Mr. Sumner showed the man. Mr. Banks resigned, and his party supported Fremont. The election lay between Fremont and Buchanan — between Liberty and Slavery, and slavery again triumphed. Mr. Fremont received one million three hundred and forty-one thousand votes. Buchanan lacked three hundred and seventy thousand of a popular majority. The electoral vote was Buchanan one hundred and seventy-four; Fremont one hundred and fourteen; Fillmore eight. Fremont's nomination was a mistake.

Viewed as an evidence of progress of liberty, this was a grand result, and a conclusive testimony to the wisdom of those who had carefully selected the true constitutional basis, and on it began a new national political structure as the only hope for rescuing our country from the fatal serpent-grasp of the slave power, disarming it, and soon releasing its suffering victims. Our first despised number who refused to "kiss the lips" of Baal in 1840 was less than seven thousand. Then by "throwing away votes" sixty thousand were gathered around the country's true flag. The third rally brought three hundred thousand there — "too many." The fourth roll-call counted one hundred and fifty-two thousand veterans. And now the fifth count numbers one million three hundred and forty-one thousand! Once more — and the ark must return to its place, and the old flag of 1776 and of constitutional liberty, surrendered by traitors, wave again over our nation's capitol!

This was confidently anticipated without the "once more," and with strong reasons. The opposing party frankly avowed its position that slavery was national "like any other interest"; that the government had no power to exclude it from its vast territories, or abolish it anywhere; that its flag must protect it on the seas, and every citizen hold himself ready for the calls of the slave-hunter. And there was "bleeding Kansas" — its people told that they should decide the question of slavery for themselves, but when they were likely to decide it for liberty, then the despotism aroused with the co-operation of the government, invaded the territory, robbed, plundered, destroyed,

and killed, to secure it to slavery. The party and its candidate were pledged to continue the same policy. Was it possible that the people of a single free state would vote for all this, and let "bleeding Kansas" bleed four years longer? Was such debasement, was such paganism possible! Alas! Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois, California gave their electoral votes for all this infamy and guilt. But, thank God, Maine and every New England state, with New York, Ohio, Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin stood by the life of their country. An all-wise Providence saw that the cannon was the only weapon that could break the chains of slavery. Religion had replied to the appeals with cold resistance,—humanity, justice, liberty, and the ballot had pleaded a quarter of a century without success,—and God's authority defied. So stupid, so obdurate, so debased still, was Northern society, that it would not stand the only possible successful coming issue, and for this the slaveholders must train the country by further atrocity, outrage, insult, and violence, or it would compromise as it always had done. Secession, rebellion, dissolution of the Union were already the fixed purpose of the South the moment the government passed from their control, and this was distinctly announced. The contest and training must go on a little longer, but the result was so near and so certain, that the friends of freedom had no time for depression, and the conflict went on, the tyrants keeping the fires burning in the land.

In Maine the two great reforms had clasped each other in fraternal, inseparable embrace, and indorsed by an unfaltering majority of the people, sometimes

reaching nearly thirty thousand. Having "done all" on a moral basis and not "policy," it *stood* as no other state did in similar circumstances, like the rocks on its coast. The reader has seen its precedent condition, and traced the development of the forces to be overcome; and now there she stands morally and politically revolutionized and placed at the head of the world's civilization. It is done! The liquor law had been repealed and a license law substituted; but the elections of 1856 restored the power for its re-enactment. Still it was considered wise to allow the existing law to remain another year to well demonstrate its own worthlessness. This was done, after which the license law was forever banished from the statutes of the state, and the righteous law restored.

Hannibal Hamlin had served one term in the United States Senate, to which he was elected by the aid of Liberty votes. As the reader has seen he was against the aggressions of the slave power, but retained his relation to the Democratic party until the Nebraska bill repealed the Missouri Compromise, and the overthrow of the party in Maine was beyond doubt. On his return from Washington, he gave decided support to the new party, in 1856 was its candidate for governor and was elected by nearly twenty thousand majority. He was inaugurated in January, 1857, but soon resigned and was returned to the Senate. His course was now firm for freedom, and honorable to the state as Senator and Vice-president till "liberty was proclaimed throughout the land." The state now stood on the identical ground respecting slavery on which the Liberty party was

formed in 1840, and the majorities for Republican governors will indicate its permanency. In 1857, about twelve thousand; in 1858, eight thousand five hundred; in 1859, twelve thousand nine hundred; in 1860, seventeen thousand seven hundred. The Congressional election now carried every Republican candidate.

In other states the cause was constantly increasing strength in the intelligence, conviction, and ballots of the people. The country was still training for its early future, aided by the increasing aggressions and atrocities of the slave power. Buchanan's administration of the government was perfectly subject to its demands. Its principle was like that of its predecessor. In support of this fatal treason the legislative and executive powers were enlisted; and now the judicial lays its robes at the feet of Despotism. Dred Scott and wife, slaves in Missouri, had been taken by their owner into free states and territory of Minnesota, and now claimed their freedom. Chief Justice Taney said the universal sentiment was that "the black man has no rights which white men are bound to respect," and decided accordingly, two judges only dissenting, and that "all men" in the Declaration did not "embrace the negro race."

But not stopping with the case before it, the court took the occasion to indorse all the essential positions of the slave power and its administration. The Ordinance of 1787, it said, whatever its constitutionality, had application only to territory then possessed; and the act of 1820 was declared unconstitutional. Congress had no power to prohibit or abolish slavery

anywhere. Under the federal government, slaves, it was said, must be held as "property," and "merchandise," and protected accordingly. This was fatal to "squatter sovereignty," or the right of the people of a territory to decide the question of slavery for themselves, which was the apology and substitute for the Compromise Act of 1820, and main capital of the Democratic party. The Supreme Court of the United States, now decided that the people in the territories have no such rights, and the invention, with Douglass its champion, go overboard together. Here was our country for which patriots shed their blood — betrayed, its vital life surrendered to tyranny, with Arnold at its head, by the ballots of the people! Is it hopeless? No wonder intelligent thought began to stir as never before.

This advanced demand of the South was a logical necessity, not a reckless impulse. While slavery was held in the field of toleration and compromise, and protected by political partyism it could obtain necessary favor, but now it was arraigned before the country inflexibly on the Constitution. By that it must stand or fall. Constructions must therefore be secured giving it adequate rights, or they must secede and make another. To this necessity of slavery the nation had yielded its own life.

Another logical demand from "Slavery National" was the opening of the African slave-trade. Home production, though pressed to the utmost, was inadequate to supply the demand for stocking the new states and territories, and holding them for slavery. Slave-stock was high and it would be a fine commer-

cial as well as political enterprise to re-open this man-stealing barbarism. If slaves were property, as Henry Clay and the Supreme Court affirmed, why not? The home slave-trade had so increased that in 1858 it was estimated at thirty thousand a year at a value of thirty million dollars, and governors, legislatures, conventions, and presses at the South began to denounce the law of Congress which held the foreign trade as "piracy," and call for its repeal. In the meantime, fearing nothing from the administration, the law was disregarded and cargoes seized, stolen from Africa, and landed on the coast of Florida and elsewhere. Efforts were made by Mr. Wilson and others in Congress to provide for better enforcement of the law, and the support and return of those who were captured, but with no success. The slave-holders called for repeal because "the law was a failure." But it was neither repealed nor enforced till the new power took the government. Thus the nation went on wallowing in the abyss of infamy and guilt, the scorn of mankind and the object of Almighty justice, its signs already gathering in the horizon.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

DRED SCOTT. JUDICIARY LOST TO LIBERTY. NECESSITIES OF SLAVERY. JOHN BROWN. SOUTHERN DECLARATIONS. THE FINAL ISSUE. WHO WAS THE GUILTIEST PARTY. NOMINATIONS FOR 1860. THE RESULTS. MISSION OF ABOLITIONISTS. JUSTICE READY. LESSONS OF HISTORY. PROFESSOR A. PHELPS. MAINE REDEEMED. WORK CLOSED.

EVERY effort was made by the slave power and the administration to establish the new theory begun in the compromises of 1850, and confirmed by the Dred Scott decision, that slavery is national, with no national power against it, and that colored men have no rights. Southern states hastened to modify their own laws, forbidding emancipation by will or otherwise, and bringing every oppression on the free colored inhabitants whom they feared, thus "treasuring up wrath" against a not distant day. New Mexico was urged to enact laws in favor of slavery, and most barbarous laws were passed. Effort was made in Congress to repeal them, but failed. It was against the new interpretation. A bill was introduced in the California legislature to divide the state and give the south to slavery, but failed. But in most free states the new alarming theory tended the other way, and laws were passed in favor of the colored people. Northern state courts declared against the Dred Scott heresy, and asserted the equal rights of colored citizens. The Maine courts did this. Thus the country was taking sides.

There is danger that history will leave mistaken impressions of this crisis period. As stated, the South was not wild and unreasoning in its positions, nor extreme in its demands beyond its absolute necessities. By the delusion of undefined "compromises of the Constitution" employed to cover the perversion of the government in favor of slavery for party and commercial interests, that system had received from the first all the support requisite for its safety and progress, but antislavery truth had torn off these screens and shown the people that the national government was constitutionally a government of liberty to the full extent of its powers. Discerning men at the South saw that this doctrine was fatal to slavery. It must have the support of the general government or sink. It could not live under a government of liberty. This inspired every possible effort to arrest this interpretation of freedom; but instead of that it had progressed at the North until its adoption was certain, and probably about to take the government. What could they do? Three alternatives alone remained. They must permanently establish their new dogma as the true meaning of the Constitution, or see slavery fall, or secede and protect it under a new government. Their first desperate effort was to fortify their position — slavery national — and practice accordingly, making the most of arrogant threatenings which had ever done so much for them.

One new position must be taken which was dangerous to their party although logical from their premises. "Popular sovereignty," which relegated slavery in

territories to their population, was the doctrine of the Democratic party, but it had proved inadequate to the protection of slavery. Under that policy California, Oregon, Kansas, and Nebraska had been essentially lost. The South could never compete with the North in peopling new territories. Nothing short of powers of the general government by authority of the Constitution could meet the necessities of slavery. Resolutions covering all this ground were offered in the Senate by Jefferson Davis in 1859 and after long, exciting debate were passed. All this had an important effect in opening the eyes of the North to the vital character of the pending issue, while it defined the determined position of the South and united it for the conflict. The repudiation of "squatter sovereignty" was a mortal blow on the Democratic party and "prepared the way of the Lord" for 1860.

The career of John Brown in 1858 and 1859 was a fire rocket thrown into the sky, indicating and preparing the mind of the country, North and South, for the final culmination of the great conflict. He was a solid, earnest, Christian man of the best of New England stock. He entered into the cause of "bleeding Kansas" with fearless self-sacrifice, and there, perhaps from impatience at such atrocity, adopted the plan of starting and aiding an insurrection by the slaves in behalf of their own liberty. Harper's Ferry was to be the point of action, and on October 24, 1859, he, with a squad of nineteen white and colored adherents, well armed, in the evening rushed into the town, seized the United States armory, captured some and liberated slaves; but in thirty hours he was at-

tacked by Robert E. Lee with United States Marines, when Brown was wounded, eight killed, two his sons, five escaped and six captured, who were afterward hanged.

This was an electric bolt upon the country. The mistaken measure gave the opposers of abolition at the North a pretext for assailing the cause, while the heroism and martyrdom for the slaves thrilled every true heart for higher endeavors, though generally disapproving of his. When the war came his example of self-sacrifice and courage, with the "John Brown songs," was an inspiration to the armies of freedom. "His soul was marching on." Congress was rocked by it and the South agitated. So far as the most conscientious motive was concerned, here was an example of taking up the cross.

The Congress which met in December, 1859, was remarkable for its leading feature. The House had now one hundred and nine Republicans, one hundred and one Democrats, and a relic of twenty-seven Whigs. The contest for speaker lasted two months — rather the effort to defeat a Republican. Beside, the presidential election was at the door, and the constant growth of the Republican party in the free states caused fearful apprehension that it would elect its President the next year. This would force the final issue on slavery. What should they do? Barksdale, of Mississippi, "demanded the protection of slave property in territories." The principles of the Republican party were declared fatal to slavery, and Crawford of Georgia said the real issue in the coming elections would be — "Slavery or disunion; or no Slavery

and union." Slavery at last was brought to trial on a life or death issue, as the veterans for liberty intended, and it was now confessed by slave-holders that if they lost control of the government they must give it up or create another.

Of course it was not possible for such a haughty despotism thus peacefully to surrender power and one billion two hundred million dollars worth of "property," and secession was the only alternative. This settled as the result of their losing the election, the more bold and positive its announcement the more likely to influence northern votes as intimidation had ever done, while it would pledge and commit the South as a unit to that course. Hence members from most of the slave states reiterated the threat, "If the Republican party shall get possession of the government, the Union must perish." "I raise the banner of secession, and will fight under it," says another. "We will never submit to the inauguration of a black Republican President." "If war must come, let it come." "We will have the expansion of slavery in the Union, or outside of it if we must." "Gentlemen of the Republican party, I warn you. Elect your President, and we of the South will tear this Constitution to pieces, and look to our guns." Here the South stood, but a new spirit of manhood was gaining control of the North as the issue approached.

The importance was not overlooked by the slave power, of extinguishing every antislavery element that had found its way South, and for this relentless persecution began. Ministers tinged even with such

principles were seized by mobs, imprisoned, whipped, and made to flee; and common men who said anything against slavery were seized, tarred, put in jail, and banished. Rev. John G. Fee of Kentucky, a prudent, excellent man, and opposed to slavery, had a small colony with a school for free colored people; and he was compelled to abandon all and flee. But that infernal power soon fell, and he returned to Berea and restored his worthy institution.

Thus the South had become hardened, its "heart seared as with a hot iron," and prepared for impending doom. But where was the greatest guilt? From the foundation of the government, the North had been compromising and betraying the vital principles of our country's life in favor of slavery. Politicians had deceived the people as to the true meaning of the Constitution, and obligations of the citizens under it, for party; for a whole generation, northern society had resisted even unto blood the light of the Bible and the Constitution practically in support of slavery, the citizen contributing his mighty ballot through party; the "Church its Bulwark," and practically asserting, respecting three millions of fellow-men, the Dred Scott theology — they "have no rights we are bound to respect." Is it strange that the South had become relentless? Protection in the North had been the strength of slavery in the South, and it was without doubt reliance on northern support still that led the South to venture the issue for division alone in the field of war. With all the light possessed, which was the guiltiest party? Let omniscient Justice answer on the field of blood. That such a

nation could be saved will remain an eternal mystery to men and angels. Perhaps it was for the sake of the slaves whom God was bound "to set at liberty" and "lift up." How could He otherwise have done it? We attempted to escape this mighty trust of honor and of duty by officially declaring that we were fighting exclusively for our own sake. The Almighty let us try it two years on that basis, when it became evident we were lost unless we included the liberty of slaves. It was done, and victory turned. It will ever be a just cause of regret that such a declaration was made by the President; and it should increase efforts still more for that people in whose terrible wrongs the whole country so deeply participated. Their welfare and the nation's are identical still.

In May, 1860, the anxiously awaited period arrived for presidential nominations. The first was by a so-called Union Constitutional convention, held in Baltimore May 9. Its evasive position was—"the Constitution, the Union, and execution of the laws." This they said had "no nigger in it." Bell of Tennessee, a slave-holder, and Everett of Massachusetts were nominated.

The Republican Convention was held in Chicago, May 16. It was a vast assembly, conscious of its mighty trust. George Ashmun of Massachusetts was President. The essential principles of the resolutions adopted were: "That the principles of the Declaration of Independence, embodied in the Constitution are essential to our Republican institutions, ... and must and shall be preserved"; that "the new dogma, that the Constitution carries

slavery into all territories, is a dangerous political heresy"; that the "nominal condition of all territory of the United States is that of freedom, and that it is our duty by legislation to maintain this position; and we deny the authority of Congress, or a territorial legislature, or any individual to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States"; and the re-opening of the African slave-trade was denounced. They also declared that the Republican party was "opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, by which the rights hitherto accorded to emigrants shall be abridged or impaired." This platform embraced the identical principles of the Liberty party with another name. It vowed to the old Declaration, and asserted that the general government was by all its powers a government of liberty. There is where we planted the infant tree, and there it has become the mighty palm "whose leaves are for the healing of the nation."

The chief conflict for nominations was between the friends of Seward and Lincoln. The worth of the former all conceded, but it was believed the latter was more likely to be elected. The great debate which Lincoln had been holding with Douglass in many states, had given him notoriety, demonstrated his ability and principles, and given him popular favor. He finally received a majority of votes, other names were withdrawn, and his nomination made unanimous with immense shouts and applause. Mr. Hamlin of Maine was added for Vice-president, and a campaign followed which aroused the North as never before.

The Democratic Convention met in Charleston, May 23; Caleb Cushing, President. The fact of a division was soon apparent between squatter sovereignty and the new theory of Constitutional slavery. Douglass, the representative of the first, was expecting the nomination on that ground, but the slaveholders generally insisted on the doctrine of the protection of slavery a Constitutional duty of Congress. They were assured that the party at the North could not stand there, and they declared that slavery could stand nowhere else. Squatter sovereignty had proved insufficient. Neither Congress nor territorial legislatures had the right to abolish or exclude it, but both were bound to protect it there and on the seas as other property. So reported a majority of the committee. The fierce contest went on, when on the ninth day some had seceded, and a vote was taken giving Douglass a majority. But the opposition held out, and the convention adjourned to meet in Baltimore, June 18. When it met no progress for union had been made, many Southern states withdrew, Douglass was nominated, and seceders met and nominated Breckenridge of Kentucky. The results were: Douglass received twelve electoral votes; Breckenridge, seventy-two; Bell, thirty-nine; total, one hundred and twenty-three; while Lincoln, Hamlin, and Liberty, received one hundred and eighty! "Babylon is fallen!—is fallen!" Maine cast for Lincoln, sixty-three thousand one hundred and forty-seven; Douglass, twenty-nine thousand eight hundred and nineteen; Breckenridge, six thousand four hundred and seventeen; Bell, two thousand and four.

The Almighty had not been indifferent to the cries of the oppressed, nor the guilt of the oppressors during the long quarter of a century in which He was preparing the country for the last, and, as He knew well, the only successful appeal in their behalf. The cannon must speak, and those chains will fall. "Without the shedding of blood there is no remission" in such a case, and the order is awaited. The generation of worn toilers soon began to perceive the Providential design of their work. It was to arraign the horrible crime, rescue the government from its control, and prepare the North to stand the strain of its awful extinction in war. This sublime mission they had well fulfilled, and the recollection sweetened life while it remained, and made their graves more precious to children's children.

The election of Lincoln settled the policy of the slave power, and according to its declarations and necessities, violence at once began in the South, and soon reached Fort Sumter, when the old war was taken up by cannon and rifle, proclaiming National "Liberty through all the land!" and the South having now conferred the right, they thundered the additional order — "To all the inhabitants thereof!"

Maine furnished seventy-two thousand nine hundred and forty-five soldiers, and seventy-one thousand five hundred and fifty-eight were actually mustered for the war. This showed the existing noble sentiment of the people; but the sacrificial offering did not exceed the demands of Justice. Did any state equal this in proportion to population?

It is a fearful question how our country stands on

this subject in the Supreme Judiciary of the Universe. Freedom was given to the slaves, but did that settle the account? It was declared that no sentiment of justice or humanity had anything to do with the act. It was exclusively for our own preservation. Repentance for the infinite crime, or participation in it, was made impossible, North and South, by the predominant religion of the country. Is our account settled? It was a strong antislavery argument, that if the great moral curse of slavery was rolled off from our country, its moral level would rise. It was confidently anticipated, but has not been discovered. How does the case stand? Is "wrath" still "treasured up"?

The history of this great pivotal period of our country, with issues surpassing those of 1776, is rich in lessons of wisdom. Some have been noticed. Never was more fearfully demonstrated the consequences of compromising and fractional dickering with moral wrong until it takes root and grows to power, instead of treating it as the Bible treats sin. Another lesson is on unfaithful citizenship. In the individual citizen lies the sovereignty of Republican government. If he yields a hair-breadth of vital principle to "expediency," no matter what the pressure, ruin is begun. Had the voters of the country inflexibly adhered to the principles of the Declaration and Constitution, slavery would have quickly disappeared. Party was the great tempting force, and now history must record the awful results. "Eternal vigilance is the price of Liberty." Unless that is paid by the citizen, it will be lost. He is on the jury for his country.

A new political party saved the country, and new parties, always resting, as that did, on the life-principles of the nation, must save it in the future. Who can read the history of this terrible struggle with trained, prejudiced, blinding political partyism reduced to a "machine" in the hands of office-seekers, without a lesson of warning? It required nearly an age of martyrdom to recover the old Declaration! It is a shield to false information, delusion, corruption, and a fatal obstacle to progress and reform against strong resisting forces unless abandoned. Here back of the ballot-box lies the great danger of Republican government, and frequent new parties are the only apparent protection.

The appalling perversion of civil power from righteousness to crime, was the result of moral blindness, consequent upon shutting off "the light of the world" from this whole continent of human responsibility. Such was current religion. As the reader has seen, the friends of liberty went to the Bible and learned that "the doctrine of human rights" was scriptural theology as truly as divine rights; that civil powers were "ordained of God" for their protection; that it was His institution, covered by His laws in its objects and administrators as perfectly as the church and its sacraments; that it was one department of Christ's kingdom; that "the government shall be on His shoulders," and "the nation that will not serve thee shall perish." By this religion the ballot was demanded for the slaves, and here was built the new political system. But the predominant religion, with its teachers, refused to support these

principles of God's word; and is it strange that the moral level of our national life has not risen? The infidelity — "religion has nothing to do with politics," — is ripening.

This history has an inspiring lesson in demonstrating, what was ever affirmed against the cry, "you can't," that the religion of the Bible is an adequate remedy for any form of sin on earth. Assault "whatsoever exalts itself against God," however gigantic, fearlessly, unfalteringly demanding its annihilation, relying on Him to whom "all power is given," and victory is sure. There stood the heroes of this glorious conflict, "their loins girt about with Truth," through all the darkness and tempests of weary years, never doubting in some way the fall of that mighty fortress of the "prince of this world"; and most lived to hear the "trump of jubilee." Duty is Victory.

The reader has noticed allusions to Professor Austin Phelps of Andover Theological Seminary. In April, 1884, he made an elaborate effort in the Congregationalist to justify the "New England Clergy" for opposing the antislavery cause in past days. It was only repeating the old excuses and accusations, and perhaps it was well to preserve a specimen. Including all denominations, a large part of that ministry, were they not in their graves, would protest against his representation of them on this subject. His class became small. He takes the class of Garrison and Phillips, chiefly in Massachusetts, none in Maine, who accepted essentially his interpretation of the Bible and the Constitution as in support of slavery, makes it the representative of the whole cause, when

all know that entire separation from that element was promptly effected, new organizations made, and new papers established, which took the cause and carried it to success, while the other element declined and disappeared. Yet Mr. Phelps could hold this up as the model of the great reform, and cast upon it his sneers and accusations!

He says all great reforms have three classes: the "resistants, the destructives, and the reformers," and modestly claims that his class were "the reformers," while "the abolitionists were the destructives." They did not believe, he says, in "tolerating organic evils" like slavery; in "working slowly and underground," (gopher theology); in "silent and gradual undermining." No, indeed! They went to the Bible and heard the Redeemer say, "I came not to send peace but a sword, follow me." Alas for the kingdom of Christ with a ministry trained to such unaggressive, cowardly imbecility. He says, "The destructives did not believe in the suasive instead of the invective in controversy." He gives a good example of his "suasive"! There never was a great discussion in the English language with more fair, solid argumentation than the literature of the antislavery cause contains.

He says, "Many of the destructives did not believe in the inspiration of the Old Testament, and divine origin of the Christian Church." That is, if it supported slavery as he maintained, it was not of God; and the church that persistently embraced slavery in its fellowship, was not a church of God. Which was right? But no such issues characterized the general cause. It rested on the Bible as its bed-rock, unanswerably defending it as an antislavery Bible, and

demanding an antislavery church and religion. Here was the issue between abolition and Andover Theology. The Christian world was with us, and the Bible was saved.

But he sums up his "suasive" accusations by saying that the abolitionists only played the part in that reform of "the Jacobins of France, the Carbonari of Italy, and the Nihilists of Russia." We only ask that this true history be read, then look at this teacher of the Bible pouring this slander upon the graves of the noble Christian men and women, unsurpassed in their generation, who fought out that holy war. It was such as this that paralyzed moral truth, prevented repentance, forced a faithful God to order the cannon to "let the oppressed go free," and robbed the Redeemer of the direct glory of the victory. How stands our nation's account? Future history must answer.

The redemption of Maine was essentially completed in 1855. A new political system had the support of a decided majority of the people in reality, and its future was beyond doubt, as facts proved. It was armed with all necessary power of the press. The moral and religious position of the state had come into harmony with the political, and the work was done. At the same time I was done. Though with a firm constitution, the mental had overworked the physical, and must stop for physical repair. Mr. C. A. Stackpole had given much valuable editorial assistance, while I had traveled to the West, Canada, and elsewhere, and rested at home hoping to recuperate, but without success. Mr. Stackpole was an intelligent man of ability, to whom the cause was much in-

debted. My only chance was "to stop the mental and work the animal." The first was impossible for me, but the second was well understood.

The demands of the cause upon its editors were very far beyond ordinary journalism. Slavery permeated the whole life of the country — moral, religious, civil, political; its commerce, industry, finance, military, diplomacy; its judiciary, legislation, history; it was everywhere, and had to be disclosed and met. Immense reading and study were demanded, and a large exchange was necessary to be accurately informed of the present tense of the country and the world. To one who intended to fulfill his trust this mental office work was immense, beside the writing, safely and efficiently to defend and lead on the great revolution. To this had been added business, correspondence, extra publications, and large work in the field. It was suggested to unite the paper with one of the Portland papers now enlisted and retain connection with it; but health did not permit, and I passed it over to the temperance paper late in 1855 and closed my work in Maine. I venture to quote from my last editorial.

KIND FRIENDS:—With deep regret we are compelled to say that this is our last number of the *Inquirer*. We hoped to recover health early enough to avoid this result, but Providence otherwise directs, and we submit. It is hard to terminate our relations with you, cemented as they are by long years of mutual toil and sacrifice in one of the noblest causes that ever engaged human effort. With thousands we shake hands as old parting friends only do. In hundreds of your families we have invariably met greetings and such blessings as bind us to all with ties of precious memories too strong for time to sever. It is hard for an old soldier to lay down his rifle just as victory enters the field. But the sight of over 51,000 of the best voters of the state embodied around those principles where but

193 were found in 1840, renders it comparatively easy. Over sixteen years of intense mental labor and endurance demand it, and we must obey.

Our arguments, our labors, our sacrifices are before the state and the world. Most sincerely have we sought to do no man injustice, while unswerving integrity and honor should mark all our course, and now have only the best wishes for all. Never on earth will it be known what the early stages of this reform have cost. The martyr graves of those who led it are their chief record here, unless a country, saved by their sacred heroism, and the grateful tears of an emancipated people shall hereafter offer a tribute to their memories. But a meagre fraction is left to us pecuniarily for all our toil, but from the heart we thank God for permitting us to take the part we have in such a cause. We began by the side of the crushed slaves; and if God can adjudge us faithful to the rights there plundered, we rest peacefully for strength to do more. The progress of our cause has been steady, every plot of its enemies turned to its advantage; and we say to all, stand firm — work on — and the victory is sure. Our country and humanity will be delivered. With many, many thanks for the long friendship and support of our friends, we give them our warmest good wishes, and bid them our parting good cheer.

It was gratifying to receive a generous notice from the press of the state, and a liberal present from friends. A change of climate being essential to the recovery of health, I succeeded in removing to Minnesota where it was essentially gained. From this latitude we could look down upon the nation mustering for the fields to which the Almighty had summoned swords and cannon to complete the work for which the friends of liberty had toiled so long, and proclaim *Emancipation* to both the country and its victims. It was "Satan falling like lightning from heaven." Hallelujahs were heard in other worlds, and an extended probation granted to our country to come by "Righteousness" into the service of "the King of kings." Shall He "reign over us"? There lies our destiny.

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